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THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY

In his article *Allah* in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Dr. Macdonald drew the distinction between Islamic theism and the theism of the Scriptures. He admits that the individual in Islam is brought into a truly religious attitude and into an intimate relationship to God; this is the strength of the Moslem faith. But the relationship never becomes filial. It remains that of an *'abd* (slave). Mohammed rejected not only the eternal sonship of Christ, but God's fatherhood of mankind. We can strongly recommend two recent books[1] that deal with the Christian mystery of the Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, because both approach the subject not as dogma but as life, not as doctrinal formula but as experience. In our opinion these two volumes should be on the shelf of every missionary to Moslems; they are indeed a supplement to the very valuable earlier articles in our quarterly (Vol. I: 381-407; Vol. VI: 28-41) by Canon Temple Gairdner. He always insisted that life and contact with Islam compelled Christians to a deeper and more experiential knowledge of the Trinity than is expressed even in the symbols of the Catholic Christian Church. And he knew that the Trinity was basic in historic Christianity and that in dealing with Moslems we cannot evade this issue. The Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford has expounded the doctrine of the Trinity in terms of present-day thought. He first seeks to assure us that he has rightly grasped the true historical origin of the doctrine by finding it in the experi-

[1] The Doctrine of the Trinity. Croall Lectures 1942-43. By Leonard Hodgson, D.D. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. pp. 237. $2.50.
The Mind of the Maker. By Dorothy L. Sayers. New York, Harcourt Brace and Company. pp. 229. $2.50.

ence of the Apostolic Church as well as in its expression in the New Testament records of that experience. Next he traces the ramifications of the doctrine as it was historically formulated, especially in the Athanasian Creed. Thirdly, he considers "the general philosophical question of the nature of the universe in order to ask how far the doctrine of God arrived at by reflection upon the historical facts of the Christian life is harmonious with all else that we gather about the universe from other sources." Then follow brief summaries of the doctrine as taught by St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas and John Calvin, whose conclusions are consonant and mutually confirm the expressed faith of Christendom down the ages. The last lecture is a climax, for it tells of the practical effect of belief in the Trinity on Christian life and devotion. The God whom men know outside of Jesus Christ and apart from the Holy Spirit is a nebulous thing; an idea and not a reality. The doctrine of the Trinity is not only fundamental but essential to Christianity. As Dr. Baur of Tübingen stated, "in the battle between Arius and Athanasius the existence of Christianity was at stake." Whenever and wherever this doctrine was abandoned, other articles of faith, such as the atonement, regeneration, etc., "have almost always followed by logical necessity, as, when one draws the wire from a necklace of gems, the gems all fall asunder."

Moreover, says Dr. Hodgson, "We need to teach the practice of Trinitarian religion in order to open men's minds to the necessity of Trinitarian theology." And that theology of the Trinity is the pattern for all true unity. In our personal life we need psychologically to be unified after the divine pattern (pp. 183-187). The Oxford professor nowhere refers to Islamic Theism and its historic denial of the Trinity, yet his argument for the essential and determinative character of this doctrine would have been greatly strengthened by showing the tragic contrast between Islamic and Christian Theism.

In a remarkable address on "One Phase of the Doctrine of the Unity of God", Dr. Macdonald compared New England Unitarianism with Islam in trenchant words: "The new

Unitarianism seeks to carry over the emotional content of Christianity, after abandoning the metaphysical realities which make that emotion abidingly possible. The incarnate Word is a metaphor, mythologised and misinterpreted, but it is still to declare to us the Father and to be the Light of the world. The Holy Ghost is a figurative expression, but it is still to be the abiding Comforter and the Lord and Giver of life. We are to be strict monists, and yet we are to be branches of the Vine, nourished by the mystical Union. . . . . But if we are to be Unitarians as to the person of God, is all this possible?"[2] His answer was that it is not possible.

Both Dr. Hodgson as theologian and Dorothy L. Sayers as author and literary critic, also answer no to Dr. Macdonald's query. *The Mind of the Maker* is a fascinating book. Its author is concerned, in the words of Dr. Hodgson, "to point out that the threefoldness involved in human creative activity suggests an analogous threefoldness in the Divine Creator." Read with thoughtfulness, the book is a very illuminating aid to the understanding of the Christian faith. The writer, who is a recognized master in detective fiction, has lately turned theologian and skillful interpreter of the ancient Creeds into modern speech. These ancient symbols of the faith she says "might be false but they could not very well be dull" except to dormant intellects. In a series of brilliant chapters on such themes as, the Laws of Nature, the Image of God, Freewill and Miracle, Maker of all things, Maker of ill things, Pentecost, Scalene Trinities, etc., she gathers that "the Trinitarian structure which can be shown to exist in the mind of man and in all his works, is, in fact, the integral structure of the universe and corresponds, not by pictorial imagery but by a necessary uniformity of substance, with the nature of God, in Whom all that is exists."

And the Athanasian Creed is not a theological puzzle but a standard of measurement, both of the Infinite, Triune Creator, the fullness of all in all, and also of man, made in God's image, and of man's work as creator in science, art and literature. One must read these chapters carefully (and then one

[2] Annual Address, Hartford Seminary, September, 1909.

reads them prayerfully) to appreciate her fine grasp of theological distinctions in their relevance to everyday life and thought. "There is a threefoldness in the reader's mind of a classic which corresponds to the threefoldness of the work (Book-as-Thought, Book-as-Written, Book-as-Read) and that again to the original threefoldness in the mind of the writer (Idea, Energy, Power)" (p. 122). And therefore she observes that the true artist "may not confound the Persons nor divide the Substance." And she gives abundant examples of such heresies in Man the Maker because he does not truly understand God the Maker! "Some writers are not artistic atheists but only heretics clinging with invincible ignorance to a unitarian doctrine of creation." Then she illustrates all this from Blake, Swinburne, Joyce and others!

When the Moslem mind revolts against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity the reason is not because the dogma is unreasonable and barren, but because Islam has atrophied certain areas of the mind of man, made in the image of the mind of the Maker. Keshub Chunder Sen, the Indian reformer and philosopher, never became a professing Christian, but his words on the Trinity are the more remarkable because of that very fact.

"The Trinity is the treasury in which lies the accumulated wealth of the world's sacred literature, all that is precious in philosophy, theology and poetry, which has ever enriched saints and prophets, and exalted individuals and nations in the East and West, in ancient and modern times. It is the loftiest expression of the world's religious consciousness. It is an unexhausted and inexhaustible mine of wisdom which still attracts, and will ever continue to attract, fresh explorers. So sublime, so marvellous is this idea of the Trinity, that the most gifted divine and the most learned sage in utter amazement exclaim: What manner of doctrine is this—the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, Three in One and One in Three. Verily the Trinity is a precious jewel-box. Fain would I draw out of it that valued necklace which the Lord has reserved for India, that she may put it on, and appear as a beautiful bride, 'adorned for her husband', when the time of

her redemption draws nigh." (*Brahmarshi Keshub Chunder Sen* by Manilal C. Parekh, pp. 150-151.)

In any basic study of Islam and of its relation to Christianity we may not neglect the study of the Moslem idea of God and of the Christian Trinitarian conception. "Just because Islam is the antithesis to the thesis of Christianity a synthesis is possible, not by a compromise between Islam and Christianity, but by bringing to clear expression the many common features which still remain, and by showing how these common features are found in a truer form in Christianity than in Islam."[3] Al Ghazali and the most spiritual among Moslem Sufis have themselves faced the problem of Islamic theism—of transcendence and immanence without an incarnation. There is only one solution—the revelation of the Holy Trinity.

This also was Dr. Macdonald's conclusion: "All attempts to simplify the metaphysical basis of our faith have, under the test of time, failed. Deists and theists have come and gone. . . . The Christian faith has seen many hypotheses, has been enfolded in many garments. But to the seeker in the great space that lies between Materialism and Pantheism the presentation that still expresses most adequately the mystery behind our lives is that in the Christian Trinity, and the words that come the nearest are those of the Nicene Creed."[4]

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[3] Edinburgh Conference Report, Vol. IV, p. 141.
[4] Annual Address, Hartford Seminary, Sept., 1909. Hartford Seminary Record.

GOVERNMENT AND ISLAM IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES*

Islam was introduced into the Netherlands East Indies at a comparatively late date. This may be explained by the distance and the lack of direct communications between the Islamic countries and the Indies. Islamization came exclusively by way of India and this helped much towards the introduction of the new religion.

In the twelfth century Islam appeared for the first time in North Sumatra; in the fourteenth century it had spread from there to large portions of Java. In the fifteenth century the process of Islamization was as good as completed except among those people who professed some dynamistic religion. Much could be told about this ready reception of the new religion and about the process of adaptation it had to undergo, but this is not the place for it. Here we are only concerned with the existence of Islam as a religion of the great majority of the people. The number of Moslems in the Indies is not known with certainty. The tables of the census of 1930 do not have separate columns for religious data and even the model questionnaire for the census of 1940—the fate of which, by the way, is still unknown to us—unfortunately did not have them either. It is estimated however that of the sixty million population which the Netherlands Indies had in 1930 no less than fifty-four million were Moslems. We cannot be far off if we assume that at present among a population of seventy million a full sixty million are followers of Islam.

Without doubt the arrival of Europeans in the Indies has proved a critical moment for the survival of Islam. Looking back it is nothing short of a historical miracle that at the time of the conquest they did not absolutely destroy the

* This article is a chapter from "Daar werd wat groots verricht," a symposium on the Netherlands Indies, edited by W. H. van Helsdingen. This book was published in Holland in 1941 by N. V. Uitgevers—Maatschappij "Elsevier" in Amsterdam. A microfilm reached England, of which several photostats were made. The author of the article is Professor W. J. A. Kernkamp. It was translated by Dr. N. A. C. Slotemaker de Bruine.

whole Islamization by its roots, together with Paganism. By doing this they certainly would have avoided many difficulties, also administrative problems. Association with a people allied in religion—although not in race and language—in our overseas territories would certainly have been much easier. All kinds of colonial conflicts might have been long since a thing of the past and we might have marked the whole of the Netherlands East Indies as a "twelfth province of the Netherlands" instead of merely the totally Christianized Minahassa. Would anything like that have been possible at all? Could Islam actually have been banned completely—or almost completely—from the entire Indies by pressure? It is difficult to draw a conclusion with any certainty by comparison with developments elsewhere (for instance on Amboina) for we cannot take for granted that elsewhere the historical course would have been similar. As a matter of fact there is already this difference, that on Amboina there was no Islamic influence of any importance at the time of our conquest, as was the case elsewhere. For instance in the Western part and on the North coast of Java which at that time—and long after—was the heart of the Indies, there existed a strong Islamic centre. Still it is not impossible that the Javanese for instance, who are so eclectic and who assimilate so easily all kinds of influences, might have accepted such a forced Christianity in the same way as they had submitted successively to Hinduism and Islam. Because of these previous experiences, one however, could perhaps accept the probability that, especially on Java where a relatively short time before Islam had found its way, the people would have accepted such a forced Christianity. This statement remains, of course, a hypothesis and therefore uncertain. Indeed in the beginning it would not have been Christianity in our sense of the word; but active adaptation for a few generations in succession would have put a Christian stamp on the land (even if only superficially) so that it could actually have been called a Christian community or would have become such in the course of time, at any rate measured by the same standard by which we call our own nation a Christian nation, and cer-

tainly not with less ground than we talk at present about Java as a Moslem country.

Thus, with force, the Indies could have been Christianized and the fact that this has not taken place is really very surprising. In olden times the rule of *"cujus regio ejus religio"* was applied in Christian Europe—the principle being that the subjects had to follow the same religion as their ruler. This principle, for instance, was the basis for the extremely important religious peace treaty of Augsburg of 1555, signed only a short time before the conquest of the Indies, a treaty which consolidated the position of the Reformation in the German Empire. The State knew only one religion *(Staatsgodsdienst)* and naturally this is the one which she will eventually carry to her colonial possessions. As a matter of fact conquering and colonizing in early Christianity always went together with propagating one's own religion. Thus Byzantium acted when it conquered the Russians and the people of the Balkans and the same thing happened during the reign of the Carlovingians. Christianization of the Germans was certainly not a very gentle process if we remember the well-known conduct of Charlemagne towards the Saxons. Islam itself did not act very differently in her own conquests. It also mainly "propagated with the sword", although here conquest rather aimed at submission to the supremacy of Islam than at conversion. Indirectly this soon led, however, to total Islamization because mere submission marks Christians and Jews as subjects of an inferior degree—a fact which declasses and exposes them to humiliating treatment. Indeed this is true everywhere; propagation of one's own creed and convictions is inborn in every human being. It is almost an instinct. Only pagan Rome made an exception and colonized in a purely secular manner; this, however, for the reason that at the time of its great conquests the Roman people themselves were no longer fervently religious. The religion of the state had degenerated into a ceremonial worship of the Emperor, comparable with the present neo-shintoism in Japan.

The Christianization of the Indies was not only possible

at the time of the conquest and historically to be expected but the V.O.C. (the United East India Company) was positively instructed to act in this direction. By its patent *(octrooi)* of 1602 it became its duty to take care of "the progress and propagation of the true Christian religion" and it is not very well possible to see in this anything but the energetic forcible methods of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, so well known at that period. Within the settlements and on paper the "honorable Company" really adhered more or less to these instructions. For instance, in 1651 it was prohibited to the Moslems to *"publycque ofte secrete byeencompsten tot het exerceeren van hare verkeerde ende Mohametise dienst"*, (hold public or secret meetings to exercise their wrong and Moslem service).

One cannot help thinking sometimes that it might have been better if the Company had done its duty also in a positive sense outside the settlements and had gradually brought the entire Indies under its domination and at the same time Christianized its people, even "with force". Naturally it would have been better if this had been accomplished through conviction and in peace and serenity, but in those crude and rough times a little force here and there was not taken so seriously. For that matter, the conquest itself did not happen so smoothly. But then this was made good later. The political and social importance of a people which from the beginning of its colonization would have confessed the Christian religion, is indisputable: there would have been no fear of Pan-Islamism, no Holy War, no trouble with *hadjis,* no enslaving of the people by narrow-minded Moslem theologians, no polygamy, no outcasts, etc. All this would have been avoided if our ancestors had propagated the Christian religion with more energy!

However it was not done. Yet it certainly was not through idealistic motives that this was prevented. It was not done for the simple reason that—to quote Colenbrander—the Company came, as a merchant, for merchandise. Even the conquest of the land was not among its aims. It was even less interested in the natives and their spiritual welfare. It would

only cost money to bother with such things and "the Gentlemen-administrators" (Heeren bewindhebbers) hardly contributed enough money for the establishment of authority and other necessary expenses and therefore certainly not for spiritual purposes. "Economy first" was the slogan of the administrators. In the responsible circles of the homeland they only looked out for dividends, which were indeed much needed for the war with Spain. There never were large-scale attempts to convert the population. To create proselytes might even be harmful to trade. It was only in cases where Christianization was possible without much trouble, cost and opposition that it came about at an early date as was, for instance, the case on Banda. But elsewhere one did not even consider trying. Even attempts at a more peaceful, and thus less costly, Christianization were still discouraged as much as possible in the Indies. The building of schools, the sending out of preachers was restricted. The Collegium Indicum which existed in Leiden from 1622 to 1633 and which was meant to train preachers for the Indies was closed down. Public opinion, which most probably would have preferred things to be different, had no voice in the circles of the Regents. And, indeed, what did one really know about the Indies and its inhabitants? There were only a few people who knew anything about it and who would have liked things to be different, but their voices were too weak to contend with the money-minded shareholders of the Company. There was, for instance, Thomas Erpenius, the first professor of Arabic in Leiden, who published an Arabic New Testament in 1616 and an Arabic Pentateuch edition in 1622, both publications meant also for propaganda in the Indies.

And so, only because of avarice, it never came to religious coercion in the Indies, even at a time when this was to be feared. What was put on paper was largely ignored. "Let us be glad", we now say wholeheartedly, for we have in the meantime acquired a conscience concerning these matters, a conscience which was hardly discernible in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A bad trait in the Dutch character has guarded us against an ineffaceable blemish on our colonial

government. Necessary funds were not made available; therefore there was no opportunity to show intolerance. Probably, however, it also prevented them from being tolerant, notwithstanding the intended intolerance. If this lust for money had not predominated at the time, the characteristic Dutch virtue of tolerance would have had a chance to assert itself. The time was not yet ripe for equality of rights in religion but Islam could have been permitted as was the case with Catholics, Baptists, and Lutherans in the homeland. No one would have expected otherwise from a government of a people which itself had to fight so hard in the past for freedom of conscience.

Historically, however, the problem never existed. At that time the desire for tolerance had not yet appeared in the Indies. One was tolerant because one had to be so. The means to be anything but tolerant were lacking: there was no intensively operating government, no dominating military force. Therefore, if we make the statement that, thanks to the tactics of the Company, Islam not only was spared extirpation in the Indies but was, during the entire rule of the Company, almost completely free, we give a true picture of the situation. But it does not reflect any merit. For only in modern times can we really speak of conscious tolerance, although this is no longer a problem because in the meantime the spirit of the age has changed completely. The problem of a forced religion does not exist any longer in civilized Europe. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have passed and today no one would consider forcing a religion on other peoples.

The first time that we find in the Indies a reflection of this new spirit is in the Instruction for the Governor General of Batavian India *(Bataafsch Indie)* drawn up by the Commission of State *(Staatscommissie)* of 1803, of which Article 13 decrees religious neutrality. This is further confirmed by the various government regulations in Article 173 of the Law on the Form of Government of the Netherlands Indies in 1925. The decree of 1803 naturally did not bring about any real difference in the treatment of Islam. Islam was free and remained free,—with one minor exception which was held

over from olden times: the pilgrimage to Mecca was more or less discouraged. For instance, in 1716 it was prohibited to transport pilgrims on the ships of the Company while at the end of the eighteenth century the Government still required a special permit for the pilgrimage. This *"aangesien sodanige swervers alhier maar schadelyk syn om haeren aanhang onder de Mahomedaenen"* (for such wanderers only do harm here because of their following among the Mohammedans). The general opinion at that time—and this was not altogether unjustified—was that every *hadji* returned to the Indies a fanatic Moslem who, from then on, lived at the cost of the native population. This policy of restriction on pilgrimage was continued under the new regulations in so far that in 1825 and 1831 stipulations were made whereby a passport to Mecca was made very expensive in order to avoid an increase in the number of pilgrims. However, since 1803, all interference has ceased. The principle of neutrality dating from 1803 has been pretty well maintained and in this respect Islam was privileged above various Christian denominations with whose affairs the Government still intervened rather drastically. This difference in treatment can be explained by the fact that the policy of 1803 in regard to the Christian religion asked certain actions from the Government, namely to put a stop to interference which in colonial circles was considered absolutely normal, while this was not the case in regard to Islam. For the time being, very little was known about Islam as a religion. During the first half of the nineteenth century there were no experts to advise the Government. Thus it was impossible for the Government to follow a definite policy. This sounds incredible to us, who know that Islam, besides being a religion, is also a social system with laws which include all kinds of provisions in regard to the form of government. Naturally we cannot blame the Government for this ignorance. One could hardly expect the Government to learn Arabic and make a study of Islam. At the most we can reproach it for not encouraging a specified research, but even so results would not have been attained easily.

To be sure, we had not remained idle in our country in

the study of Oriental Literature. On the contrary, we could boast of an honorable state of affairs. With the above-mentioned Erpenius and his pupil and successor Golius, the seventeenth century sets a high standard as far as the study of Arabic is concerned. Conquering tremendous difficulties they prepared a solid base for future work. They developed an entirely new field of study, an enormous literature was laid open by them. Erpenius composed a grammar, Golius a dictionary. Both of these remained in use for a long time. Both men began the collection of manuscripts. A group of scholars followed them in the eighteenth century; such men as Albert Schultens and in the nineteenth century such masters as R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje.

However, comparatively little of all this intensive study of Arabic was of much use to the knowledge of Islam and of Moslems in the Indies. This was principally so because Erpenius and Golius had in mind, (apart from their theological objectives) the conversion of Moslems. They considered Mohammed as a pseudo-prophet. On the one hand their aim was to expose the difference between the Koran and the Bible; on the other hand they desired to put the Bible and Christian teaching into Arabic. They were of the opinion that the truth would speak for itself. They did not get further than that, but even so we must admire them.

After that things came more or less to a standstill. When in the eighteenth century, Albert Schultens and his followers brought the study of Arabic to new heights the purpose had changed completely. Now the Arabic language was studied as an auxiliary to the study of Hebrew, which our theologians at the time considered the "mother language" and which as such had their full attention. In the eighteenth century the so-called critical school no longer held to the divine inspiration of the vocalization of the Old Testament and they rejected the entire Masoretic tradition. The Dutch school, Albert Schultens and his followers, sought to reconstruct the true text by means of the Arabic language, basing their theory on the supposition that originally the Arabic and Hebrew languages were closely related.

In the eighteenth century, only R. Reland increased our knowledge of Islam by his objective study of the Moslem faith, a work which was very remarkable at that time. However, he was mostly interested in dogmatic problems and therefore was of little use to a constructive policy in government.

In the nineteenth century there was a general revival of scientific research no longer connected with theological aims. Arabic became a subject for study for its own sake, apart from Hebrew. Grammar, philology, geography, poetry, all had equal interest. In our country a new cultural era began, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, which directed itself more specifically towards the study of Islam. Besides being a lexicographer, Dozy was also a historian of Islam; and de Goeje, although better known as geographer, was also expert in Islamic history. Consequently the study of Islamic law was not a primary concern. S. Keyzer and L.W.C. van den Berg engaged in this study, but their work was of no great importance. Only much later the basic work of C. Snouck Hurgronje brought about a full and thorough knowledge of Islamic law, its prescriptions in the political and social realm and Moslem mentality dominated by this law. On this further knowledge we could now base a policy in the Indies with some hope of success. This had become acutely necessary in connection with the demands of a slowly developing ethical policy. The freedom of religion of 1803 was no longer satisfactory as regards Islam because of new demands for protection and education of the Indonesian. The new policy of the Government dictated most specifically that freedom of religion for the native Moslem should not degenerate, but should actually remain freedom, and that no exploitation of the religiousness of the Indonesian should be possible, not even by people of his own creed. It was necessary for the Government to protect the Indonesian people in this respect from others as well as from itself.

The "Islam policy" of Snouck Hurgronje (put in a series of practical counsels and later on edited in its classical form in his "The Netherlands and Islam") is based primarily on

a vertical division of Islam into two parts. The first part consists of religion in the Western sense. This remains free in accordance with our whole constitutional system. Here Snouck points out sharply that it is necessary to apply this system truthfully in the case of Islam and that it is unfair to reason, as many people did in his time, that Islam should not be considered—because our Moslems in the Indies did not adhere strictly to its rules—and that therefore the Moslems could be made subject to all sorts of convenient rules, even in such matters as were, in the opinion of the Moslems, closely related to religion. This is contrary to our policy of freedom of religion, said Snouck, and no exceptions should be made.

However, Islam is more than just a religion in the Western sense; it has become an institution which not only decrees the relationship of man towards the Supreme Being, it also decrees all social relations of its followers. In this second part (which, in our Western opinion, is not of a religious nature) unlimited freedom can and must no longer be upheld, and most certainly not if in the opinion of the Government intervention is necessary; especially where greater, or at least more common interests, as, for example, the protection of the Indonesian or our own Government authority, are at stake. Possible opposition to such intervention should be suppressed by force of arms, for here the authorities are acting with a clear conscience and they should not let themselves be pushed aside in the rightful execution of their duties, "not even by people who are wearing religious garb".

In short, according to Snouck's theory, religion in a restricted sense, dogmatics, including eschatology, remains free in the first place, although it may be necessary to intervene forcefully in the case of Mahdi-expectations connected with *ratoe adil-presentations*. Fundamentally free remain also the religious duties, the so-called five pillars (ritual cleanliness, ceremonial worship, religious taxation, fasting, and pilgrimage), although it is not impossible that in some cases exceptions will have to be made. Also free from intervention are

those parts of Islam, as a social complex, which are generally considered by the Moslems to be more especially of religious nature. Because of the fact that all Moslems the world over consider these matters as of special religious importance, intervention would be considered by them as gross moral constraint. Examples of this are the cases of personal and family rights, with special emphasis on marriage and hereditary rights. However, we maintain the principle of division in so far that we only tolerate Islamic convictions in these matters temporarily; we want to keep the road open for evolution in this field. We hope that in time such antiquated institutions as polygamy and one-sided divorce and repudiation will disappear and therefore we refuse to codify the Moslem law as it is today. The *adāt* law has in the past deviated from certain provisions in the Moslem law and it may continue to do so in the future and in such a case it should be able to count on our recognition. Finally, forceful intervention should be withheld in those cases where the individual Moslem, not the people as a whole, still cling to the rules of Moslem law (for example rent-prohibition or refusal of insurance). Social developments will eventually straighten out these last remnants of a medieval system.

According to Snouck's theory freedom of religion ends with the facts here mentioned. In other words Islam need not be respected in its political character as, for instance, in such matters as the Caliphate, Pan-Islamism, and Holy War. Pan-Islamism is entirely unacceptable to us as well in its classical as in its new form (concentration and union of all Moslems under the leadership of the strongest Moslem state). Interference of any foreign state or monarch with the population of the Netherlands Indies, for which only the Government is responsible, can under no circumstances be tolerated.

This in short is Snouck's Islam policy which, in fact, has been accepted as the policy of the Government in the Indies and which is still being followed. The problem as it existed at the time, was completely solved. Maintenance of this policy has in practice never given any difficulties. Complaints from the side of Islam which can be found in the assembled ar-

ticles of the People's Council, are quantitatively few in number and qualitatively of little importance. The line of conduct suggested by Snouck is entirely clear; both parties know what can be expected and they are allowed a great amount of freedom. It is no longer necessary for the Government to withdraw scrupulously from any controversy about Islam, while on the other hand an un-called-for interference is prevented. Thus the unjustified restrictions on the pilgrimage disappeared and new, well-justified regulations were made.

The most important of these regulations now ask our attention.

Concerning two of the "pillars" of Islam which, as is explained above, remain free in principle, stipulations had to be made by the government none the less. In the case of *zakāt,* religious taxation, which bears a mark of charity, the Government wants to maintain this freedom, the completely voluntary paying of this tax. Any pressure on the collection of the *zakāt* had to be avoided, although it might be done with the best of intentions. Native officials are never allowed to receive any benefit from these voluntary contributions. In those districts where, as in the Sunda Lands, the old *adāt* law prescribes that the taxes shall be collected more or less centrally and where the revenue thus becomes the most important source of income of the personnel of the mosques in the various capitals of the districts and the divisions, there the officials have to guard against malversation during the administration and distribution of the tax proceeds. In cases where part of the tax proceeds is, according to the *adāt,* put into the treasury of the mosque, then the administration has to see to it that this money shall only be used for public worship and that not more than is necessary for local needs shall be put into the treasury. For this part is really a reduction of the income of the so-called "clergy" who serve the Government in various functions and whose financial position is already far from satisfactory.

The second pillar, the *hadjj* (pilgrimage) has been freed by the new regulations. Snouck has shown that under modern circumstances no harm is to be feared any more from the

majority of the pilgrims. Because of modern communication facilities a very great number of pilgrims can participate yearly in the *hadjj* and this takes away the prominence of their individual position. Moreover it is impossible for pilgrims to return as fanatics after a stay of only a few months in Arabia. Thanks to this new understanding the pilgrimage was made entirely free. The so-called *hadjj* examination, a provision dating from the year 1859 and especially made to accentuate the particular and possibly dangerous character of the pilgrims, was abolished in 1902. The passport for pilgrims which has been mentioned before was maintained but now it no longer serves to make pilgrimage difficult, but is purely a protection for the pilgrims and is very cheap. This protection proved not to be superfluous. Often women were sold as slaves and men were forced into debt and subsequently pressed into service as coolies on plantations in the Straits whence they would return only after a long time or not at all. Moreover hygienic control of the pilgrims proved to be very necessary. Now pilgrims are allowed to embark only at so-called pilgrim ports and on their return to the Indies they can disembark only at special disembarkation ports. Furthermore, for their own sakes they must be in possession of a return ticket. Additional measures are taken to secure adequate care during the sea voyage, while in Arabia control is maintained by the Netherlands Embassy in Jeddah, established there since 1872 (first as a consulate) and represented in Mecca itself by a native vice-consul. These protective transportation measures were put down in the Pilgrims ordinance of 1922 which has repeatedly been changed, the last time in 1937.

Complete freedom of the pilgrimage however has its disadvantages for the Indies. Large sums are withdrawn yearly for this purpose which could be very useful in the domestic economy. For the time being, however, it would not be justifiable to interfere and to restrict participation to such circles as can carry the cost from an established economic surplus. It is not only the native community as a whole which does not profit by the pilgrimage, very often the individual pil-

grim does not fare so well either. The journey is often undertaken thoughtlessly, people will even run into debt for it. The government tries to protect the individual Indonesian from this—in a very unsatisfactory way—by impressing the fact upon him that he cannot count on any financial assistance from the Government if he gets into trouble in Arabia. The one exception to this is the procurement of free medicine for needy pilgrims. Contrary to this principle, however, the government cooperated in 1933 in the repatriation of several thousands of so-called "Destitutes"; this is in fact inconsistent.

On the other hand, we find a justified deviation from the government policy (in regard to the complete freedom of the pilgrimage) in the Supplementary Bulletin 11719 of 1928. This circular, which advocates facilitation of the distribution of passports in general, advises implicitly that passports should be refused not only—as was ruled in 1902—in cases of evasion of obligations (as, for instance, taxes) or of investigation of police or justice but also because of the danger of extremist propaganda among the pilgrims.

For a long time there had been many complaints about religious jurisdiction. As a result of the comparatively late Islamization and of the lack of learned Moslems, jurisdiction on Java was executed by *penghulus,* directors of the mosques; this contrasts with other parts of the Indies where, as in other Moslem countries, the Kali *(Kādi)* was a separate official. In addition, these *penghulus* are also advisors to the district courts and to the marriage officials; notwithstanding all these additional posts, however, they receive a very meagre income. These complaints are aimed mostly at the costliness of the procedure, at the incompetence of the judges, at the lack of repeal and at the uncertainty of material satisfaction. As far as this last complaint is concerned a provision in the old regulations stipulates in article 78, paragraph 2, of the R.R. of 1854 (and also in art. 134 of the old I.S.) that civil disputes among natives which according to their ancient religious law should be judged by their priests or chiefs would *remain* subject to their jurisdiction. Because of this

"remain" there existed uncertainty about the competency, which was purposely maintained. At that time it was considered more desirable that natives should settle their disputes among themselves. The law, therefore, instructed the *adāt* to take charge in such cases. Consequently, a commission given to Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg to describe the competency in detail, did not succeed. There has been exaggerated criticism of his draft which led to the law (Staatsblad of 1882 no. 152) concerning the councils of priests. In his design, however, regarding the separation of executive and legislative power he succeeded: the priests-councils have actually become independent from the Regents, which had not been the case before.

For the rest, the complaints continued to exist and religious jurisdiction remained a problem. Some time passed before the Government dared to undertake a revision of this matter. To achieve a satisfactory solution of this ticklish question a revision of the *Ind. Staatsregeling* (Indian Constitution) was of course also necessary. This revision came in the Act of April 24, 1929, whereby the present interpretation of art. 134, paragraph 2 is determined and whereby a new regulation by ordinance was made possible. In the settlement of this ordinance itself the Government has been extremely careful. The original proposals of the Director of Justice date from June 12, 1917. A number of reports were made on this subject, among others by Dr. Hazeu (1919) and Snouck Hurgronje (1920) while finally in 1922 a Committee was formed, presided over by Dr. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, which consisted almost entirely of Indonesian members. This committee made a detailed report on the subject presented to the People's Council in 1927. After lengthy debate in the People's Council the new ordinancy was finally accepted in January, 1931.

The new regulations brought about a clearly defined material competency, wherein, among other things, the hereditary rights disappeared. Those courts of justice which have been established by virtue of the new ordinancy will in the future be called *penghulu*-courts, which indicates that from

now on the *penghulu* will be sole-administrator of justice, although the institution of assessors with advisory voice remains. The judges will henceforth receive a fixed salary (with a maximum of Fl. 300.—monthly, in the capitals Fl. 350.—); in the future they will no longer be dependent on the proceeds of lawsuits, which will now be deposited in the government treasury. This salary is made comparatively high because of the social status of the legal profession and also to make the position desirable, so that an ample choice may be made from among expert and incorruptible men and because the profitable hereditary suits have been withdrawn from their jurisdiction. The judicial office now becomes the main position; the position of advisory district counsel is henceforth only secondary and no payment is given for attending sessions. Both these positions will most probably remain connected in the future with the position of regency—*penghulu*—which is not part of the public service and which includes the remaining duties of the *penghulu:* the function of director of the mosque and of head of the so-called marriage contractors—because these two positions strengthen each other and mutually augment respect.

Government intervention in Moslem marriage is not very radical. The so-called marriage-ordinances (at present from 1929 for Java and Madura and from 1932 for the Outer Territories) are in reality not ordinances at all because they do not regulate a Moslem marriage. The marriage official, here called the "marriage contractor", is in reality nothing of the kind. According to Islam the parties concerned perform marriage by contract themselves and such a marriage contracted without the assistance of the "marriage contractor" may very well be valid in civil law. Juridical warrant indeed is increased by these ordinances and the cost of the marriage is diminished by tariff. In 1937 an attempt was made to promote the evolution of the Moslem marriage law by means of the above mentioned principles of making a monogamous marriage possible lawfully, (instead of only actually, which is always possible and mostly the case). However this attempt failed completely. The "project ordinance for registered

marriages" which was drafted at the time, has since been withdrawn.

The fact that Islam also comprises dogmas in the political field has led to supervision of Moslem religious education. The so-called *guru* ordinance of 1905 brought about a permit system. Objections to this were duly raised from Islamic quarters in connection with religious freedom. For this reason and also to control the so-called *muballighs,* a sort of modern "evangelists" of Islam, a new *guru* ordinance was proclaimed in 1925, which only recognizes a repressive supervision. In 1931 the *muballighs* were liberated again from the regulations of this ordinance. The new regulations are very unsatisfactory in practice. Under the ordinance of 1905 supervision was restricted to the *gurus kitab* (who give advanced instruction in the law) and the *gurus ṭarîqat* (teachers of a mystical fraternity). According to the new ordinance the *gurus Koran,* (who teach the very elementary religion) are also included. This revision adds greatly to administrative red tape without the slightest advantage. Thus an expert civil servant has been able to write that "no agitator nor any dangerous propaganda has ever been discovered by means of this ordinance". According to this author (Ch. O. van der Plas), it is much better to make the assistant district chief directly responsible for any unknown revolutionary propaganda among the *gurus,* without the *guru* ordinance.

Interference of the Government in matters concerning Mohammedan education, but this time in a positive sense, takes place by giving subsidies to schools "with the Koran". During the very fundamental debate about education which took place during the discussion of the educational budget in the session year 1938/39 of the People's Council the Government declared explicitly that education originating from Christian denominations would in no way be privileged. The higher elementary education, originating principally from modern organizations, receives less subsidy than Christian education, but this is mainly due to the fact that the Moslem organizations started out in this field at a much later date than their Christian sister organizations. According to a

statement which was then produced for the first time, the organization Moehammadijah for instance, received at that time subsidies for one Mülo, (intermediate school) 4 H.I.S. (High schools), two connecting schools, twenty-one continuation schools and ninety-five national schools. The organization *Pasoendan* received subsidies for one Mülo, one High school and one connecting school. To assist the Moslems further the Government has announced its policy (already in use on Celebes) to promote the organization of schools for the Moslem population in Christian regions wherever there are plans for the extension of the public school system.

Another means of accommodating Islam by way of education was found to be impossible in practice. There was a suggestion from the side of Islam to put public education in the hands of the Mohammedan "clergymen", by connecting it with the already existing religious education in the *desas;* but this proved to be impracticable. For it is impossible to train the *gurus,* who are mostly elderly men and very conservative, to become public school teachers, neither would they accept a trained teacher at their side who might damage their influence with the populace.

To reverse the procedure and bring Mohammedan religious education to the existing *desa* schools proved equally impracticable. In 1915 Governor General Idenburg fixed a new principle by which education in the *desa* does not necessarily have to be neutral but might conform in this direction with the religious principles of the inhabitants; however, experiments to bring Mohammedan religious education to *desa* schools have not been successful (for instance in 1925 in the regency of Bankalan—in 1927 in Tjiandjoer). The inhabitants do not want it; they do not consider the schoolbuilding a fit place for the teaching of religion and the *gurus* are also against it. In 1927 religious education was included in the curriculum of the public schools of Djambi but in 1930 the resident reported that the population did not appreciate it at all and did not want to put the expenses on the *adāt*-districts budget. Therefore it will have to be discontinued.

We pass several less important subjects of Government intervention with Islam to say a final word about the institution which advises the Government in all matters concerning this religion. Instruction is given by the adviser of Indonesian Affairs who has his own office, the Office for Indonesian Affairs. The first instruction of this high official (who at that time was still called adviser for Indonesian and Arabian Affairs) dates from 1899. This has been renewed time and again, in 1907, in 1909 and as late as 1931. The tendency of these modifications is more or less to give him (and his subordinate personnel) a greater freedom of movement than he had before, as well in his office work as in his research. According to article 1 of the present instructions the Adviser is directly subordinate only to the Governor General; he does not need to take orders from the Director of Education and Public Worship in whose department his office is placed administratively. He also may correspond directly with all civil and military authorities.

The position of Adviser for Indonesian Affairs and of his Office has in later years repeatedly been involved in political discussions in and outside the People's Council. There has often been controversy about the Office; there are even those who are of the opinion that the Office is entirely superfluous under the present circumstances. These objections are all the more important because no one who knows anything about the subject doubts for one moment the complete competence of the various Orientalists who have held the position.

The objections are partly justified because they simply register an actual change in the native social order. At the outset, the only way to discover what was going on in Indonesian society was individual research by expert, trained officials who had the full confidence of Government and people. An organized native corporate life, a press, did not exist. Personal contact was also the only way to prevent misunderstanding regarding the intentions of the Government concerning religion. The Office functioned as a sort of Bureau for Complaints, where people could air their suppressed Islamic feelings. It was still in the first romantic intimate stage;

there was a congenial, personal spirit. From this time dates the old-fashioned and of course now discontinued regulation (from the Instruction of 1909) whereby the adviser had the official supervision of the education of the younger Indonesian nobility. It is most certain that in this atmosphere of intimacy the Office performed extremely valuable work.

However, this romanticism and amiability belong irrevocably to the past. A widespread corporate life, also Islamic, enables the Government (on a much larger scale and more objectively than this was possible by personal contact) to take cognizance of the wishes and opinions of the Indonesian population.

The indigenous press is also a source of information, while finally Indonesian public opinion is made known to the Government by the Indonesian members of the People's Council. In this same Council the Government can also explain its policy and in this way reach the majority of the people much better than could be accomplished by confidential conversations between single persons. It is hardly possible to conclude otherwise than that the Office has become entirely superfluous, at least as far as this part of its activities is concerned, and certainly also as direct adviser to the Governor General.

There is also criticism regarding the political task of the Office (Art. 2 Instructions). Civil Service and Office of Information are, it is said, much more capable of following political movements in the Indonesian world. The Office cannot compete with them, because of its organization, in speed, and in actual judgment of concrete situations. Moreover, the education of the Orientalist guarantees in no way the political insight of this functionary.

All this may be true but nevertheless, in our opinion, there is no ground for the discontinuation of the Office, which has been advocated. No other office is even remotely able to advise with equal thoroughness in matters concerning the origin or the object of religious—also political-religious—currents, nor can it judge what Islamic influences are to be expected from abroad and what tendencies may be

hidden therein. Only through this Office all affairs concerning pilgrimage may be judged at their true value. For many appointments the advice of the Office is indispensable, as well as for preparations for various legal measures in connection with religion.

Finally, the Office will never completely lose its intimate character; even today many subjects may be discussed in the privacy of the Office which would never be discussed openly in a public meeting. There can be no question of discontinuance of the Office although the time may be ripe to discontinue the function of giving direct advice to the Governor General. The Office should retain its independence and freedom of movement and should be incorporated in reality, and no longer purely administratively, in one of the branches of the Public Service.

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New York City

Turkey and Educational Reform

Writing on this subject in the *Asiatic Review,* E. V. Gatenby says that English is becoming the popular language next to the mother-tongue. The White Paper on Educational Reconstruction was translated into Turkish by the British Council and its proposals have aroused much interest among educationists in Ankara and Istanbul.

Some twenty years ago, with the foundation of the Republic, the complex system of schools—public, religious and private—was simplified and brought under Government control. Today, a boy may proceed along a carefully graded course through primary, middle and high schools to the university, all education being free except in a few schools, the Turk Maarif Cemiyeti Lisesi, where a particularly high standard is maintained.

English is now by far the most popular foreign language, and though optional, it is being chosen by increasing numbers of pupils in preference to French or German. There may be political reasons behind this enthusiasm—it has been claimed that General Montgomery at El Alamein filled English language classrooms all over the world—but apart from the prestige which English has gained through victory there is in Turkey a realization that our language will in future be more useful than others in international relations. It is already the world's language for trade, and it is establishing itself as the principal second language in all countries.

THE IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ' AND CHRIST

[In the fourth century of the Moslem Era (10th A.D.) there existed a religious association with Ismaili views. Their headquarters were in Basra, and they called themselves "Brethren of Purity or Sincerity". Their purpose was to further the salvation of their souls by purifying knowledge and mutual assistance. Their teaching was philosophical, a neo-Platonic speculation combined with Aristotelian natural sciences and ultra-Shiite theology. In order to propagate themselves they organized secret clubs for their reunion, to discuss their teachings and learn the secrets. Moreover, they published some tracts or epistles, about fifty-two in number, covering all the field of human knowledge conceived at that time, forming almost an Arabic encyclopaedia. The reception of those tracts in the Moslem world was great. They were eagerly read and copied by people, as is shown by the manuscripts. They contain allusions to the Qur'an, Abraham, Joseph, Socrates, Pythagoras, etc., and to Jesus in connection with the discussion of the immortality of the soul. In this section on Jesus, we have a summary description of the life of Jesus and his preaching, admitting the fact of Jesus' crucifixion, death, burial, and resurrection. Here is a Moslem association of the tenth century A.D. whose teaching about Jesus agrees with that of Christianity on those very points which are denied by Orthodox Islam. The following is a translation of this section on Jesus.*—L.L.]

That the prophets (peace be on them) believe in the immortality of the soul after leaving the body is indicated also by the work of Christ (peace be on him) during his humanity, and by the commandments which he gave to his disciples for doing the same as he has done.

When Christ was sent to the Israelites he found them professing the religion of Moses, but clinging to the externals of the law, reading the Torah and the Books of the prophets,

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* Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' vol. IV, pages 94 ff., Cairo Edition, 1928.

without putting them into practice, or understanding their truth, or knowing the secrets, using them only for worship. They ignored the next life, and had no interest in it, not understanding the reality of resurrection and knowing nothing of religion and law except in relation to this world. The purpose of the prophets in teaching the nation was not merely to give laws and ordinances to better this world, but their chief purpose was the salvation of the souls sunk in the ocean of chaos, and their emancipation from the slavery of nature, and their deliverance from the darkness of the material into the light of the spiritual world; to awaken them from the sleep of ignorance and the slumber of forgetfulness; to save them from the suffering of the fire of the bodily lusts burning in the hearts; and to cure their hearts from the pride of self and the diseases of self, from the torment of heat and cold, of hunger and thirst, the pain of sickness, from the fear of poverty and events of life, of the anger of enemies, of grief for friends, of the pain of sympathy for friends and relatives, of the enmity of the opponents, the envy of the neighbors and the alluring of the devil, and of the accidents of time.

When Jesus saw them in this condition, not differing much from others who did not believe in the next world, who knew neither religion, nor prophecy, nor the book, nor the law, nor abstinence in this life, nor desire of the eternal life, he became very sorry and had pity on them who were his own people, and thought over how to cure them from this disease which had infected them. He knew that if he rebuked them severely and threatened them with punishments and torture, it would not avail much, for all these means were already found in the Torah and the books of the prophets (peace be on them); and he thought that it would be better to appear to them as a healing physician. So he began to go about from place to place, and whenever he saw a man he preached; he spoke in parables, awakening him from ignorance and teaching how to renounce this world and seek the next life and its blessings. Once he saw some bleachers outside the city. He stopped by them and said, "Do you see these clothes washed and cleansed after bleaching? Do you allow their owners to

put them on their bodies covered with dirt, blood, wine and filthy things?" "No," they answered, "and he who does so is a fool!" He said, "But you yourselves have done it." "How?" they asked. "Because," answered Jesus, "you have cleansed your bodies, bleached your clothes and put them on, your souls being defiled with rottenness, full of the dirt of ignorance, blindness, dumbness, envy, hatred, treachery, stinginess, ill-thinking and low lusts. You are in the grip of slavery and wretchedness and cannot find rest except in death and the grave." They said, "What shall we do? Can we neglect work for our living?" Jesus answered, "Do you like to seek the kingdom of heaven where there is no death, old age, pain, disease, hunger, thirst, fear, sorrow, poverty or fatigue? Its people do not envy or hate one another or show pride, but live joyfully as brethren in the midst of the fragrance and blessings of paradise, going about in the spacious heavens, seeing the kingdom of the Lord of the world and the angels around His throne praising their Lord with songs and tunes which no man nor demon has ever heard or seen. There you will live forever, never getting old or thirsty or ill or hungry or sorrowful." He advised them until his words touched their hearts, and God was gracious to them and led them to truth, opening their hearts and enlightening their eyes. They saw what Christ (peace be on him) had told and seen with the eye of heart and the light of certainty and sincerity of faith, and they sought the other world, abstaining from the pride and allurements of this world, and thus being saved from the slavery of the world and its lusts. They put on patched garments and travelled with Christ from place to place.

It was a habit of Christ to go every day from one village to another or from city to city in the country of Israel finding the people and preaching to them and calling them to the kingdom of heaven, encouraging them to seek it and to abstain from the allurements and desires of this world. But throughout all this time, the king of the children of Israel was seeking to arrest Christ and kill him. He pursued him from place to place to arrest him but he could not succeed because Christ disappeared every time and went to another

place. This went on for thirty months until the time when God wanted Christ to die and then rise again. Then Christ called his disciples to a room in Jerusalem with his friends, and told them, "I am going to my father and your father. I shall leave to you my commandment before I return to my divinity. I shall make a covenant with you, and everyone who accepts it will be with me, but he who does not accept it has no relation with me, and I have no relation with him. I am not his nor is he mine." "What is that?" they asked. He answered, "Go to the kings of the far nations and tell them all that I have taught you, and call them to the same thing to which I have called you. Do not be afraid of them, and never fear them, for when I leave my humanity, I shall stand in the air on the right hand of the throne of my Father and your Father, and I shall be with you wherever you go, and I shall strengthen you with victory by the permission of my Father. Go to them and call them with gentleness; heal them and command them to do good and shun evil. Do that until you are killed, crucified or exiled from the land." They said, "What is the proof of the truth of all these commandments to us?" He said, "I shall be the first to do it."

And on the next day he went out to the people and began to call them and preach to them until he was arrested by them and taken to their king, who condemned him to crucifixion. His body was crucified, his hands nailed on the two pieces of the wood of the cross. He remained on the cross from early in the forenoon until the afternoon. He asked for water to drink, but was given vinegar. He was pierced with a spear and buried in a place near the cross. Forty guards were assigned to watch the tomb. All this happened in the presence of his disciples and friends who saw that he had not commanded anything that he himself had not done.

Three days later the disciples gathered in a place where Christ had promised them to appear, and they saw the sign which was between them and him, and the news was spread that Christ had not been killed. His sepulchre was open but

his human body was not there. The Jewish parties differed among themselves and many rumors spread about Christ.

The disciples who had accepted his commandment went to many countries in different directions. One of them went to the west, another to Abyssinia, two to Rome, two to the king of Antioch, one to Persia, and one to India. Two of them abode in the monastery of the children of Israel calling them to the teaching of Christ. Many of them were killed, but the calling of Christ spread throughout the east and the west by the work of the disciples. They did not count their bodies precious and preached their belief in the immortality of soul and its blessings after death. From that time on, the monks who are his best followers imprison their bodies in cells for many years abstaining from good food, drink, comfort, nice clothes, and every desire and pleasure in this world. All this is due to their strong belief in the immortality of soul and its blessings after death.

LOOTFY LEVONIAN

Beirut, Lebanon

Complacency in Evangelism

Dr. Dwight M. Donaldson makes a strong plea for a more intelligent and more direct interest in the evangelization of Moslem India (*International Review of Missions,* July, 1944):

"India has one-third of all the Muslims in the world. If one missionary and one Indian Christian evangelist could be assigned to work together for every 135,000 Muslims in India, then, on even this inadequate ratio, it would require six hundred such missionaries and six hundred such Indian Christian evangelists to reach 81,000,000 Muslims. But with these twelve hundred full-time, specially prepared workers, which would be more than twenty times as many as are assigned to Muslim work at present, there would still be need for others, such as those who have been taking some interest in Muslims in connexion with their work in schools or hospitals, to intensify their efforts in many ways before there could be anything like an adequate presentation of the Gospel to the Muslims of India.

"Muslims comprise no less than one-fifth of India's entire population. If something like one-fifth of the post-war assignments of evangelists to India, whether missionary or Indian Christian, could be 'to work for Muslims after acquiring the language and receiving special training in the Henry Martyn School', then as far as one of the sadly neglected non-Christian communities in India is concerned this action would gradually correct what we have ventured to call the prevalent attitude of complacency."

EGYPT'S PEASANT WOMEN

In no eastern country except India is there found such contrast between the highest and lowest social strata, one "living in luxury and leisure truly Oriental," and the other "carrying on a bare hand-to-mouth struggle for existence."[1]

> The villages of Egypt as seen from the railway carriage . . . present a most picturesque appearance. They are generally surrounded with palm groves, often very extensive, while palm trees also grow actually among the houses, affording a welcome shelter from the heat. These palm-girt villages are dotted about all over the cultivation, the brilliant green of which presents a startling contrast to the immediately adjacent, and seemingly endless desert . . . a most romantic background.[2]

But a Levantine-American student, after study of a typical Egyptian village wrote:

> I really never thought that a beautiful country such as Egypt would have farmers who would live like animals. . . . It seems to me . . . those farmers represent the dirtiest kind of life that ever existed. . . .

He felt that the villagers did the thing they heard by way of improvement merely to please the speaker but as soon as he went they would go back to their old ways. Therefore, he concluded, Egypt must long have a foreign power to control her affairs.[3] His wealthy Palestinian classmate "never imagined how poor they were until I visited the village", but also observed that "if you explain to them something is danger they try to avoid the causes and ask the means for avoiding it." For example, every village has its own *birka,* that is:

> a pond in which the inhabitants wash their clothes, their beasts and themselves and from which, unless they are near the Nile [or a

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[1] Ruth Frances Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter a New World* (New York: Round Table Press, Inc., 1936, Publications of the American University of Beirut, Social Science Series, No. 14), p. 337.

[2] Winifred Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt* (Edinburgh: Neill and Company, Ltd., First Published, London: George G. Harrap and Company, Ltd., 1927), p. 26.

[3] Erdman Harris, *New Learning in Old Egypt* (New York: Association Press, 1932), p. 71. Dr. Harris, when in Egypt, with the cooperation of an Egyptian doctor, directed a class project in the American University at Cairo when boys of different races and religions investigated village life at first hand. They visited in the homes and school, then, after class discussion, presented educational and reform programs to the villagers, through a period of several months. Class reactions to the study are recorded.

canal], they also draw their supply of drinking water. To induce the people to refrain from emptying their refuse into this receptacle is one of the tasks of sanitary inspectors. It is not an easy one: the fellah has been living for a few thousand years without paying any particular regard to sanitation, and does not see the necessity of it. Yet there is progress. I have heard that in some villages threatened by plague, the headmen, or *omdehs,* without any official pressure, have themselves insisted on the water being boiled before being used for drinking purposes. But the fellah does not take to new ideas easily.[4]

The fellah lives on in much the same squalor and penury that he has endured for thousands of years, and is apparently as unconscious of it as he is of the movements which are rapidly revolutionizing his existence. One notices little tendency among the agricultural population to raise themselves from their present level. Even among the relatively enlightened work-people of the towns the demand for better conditions is mainly individual.[5]

Yet it is in the villages of the Delta and of the narrow Nile valley that one sees the true Egypt.[6] The green of the fertile fields is dotted by mud villages marked with palm trees whose shades of color change silently with each changing light of day. The water-wheel, the *shadoof* and the ploughman with his ox yoked to a heavy plough seem to speak of days recorded on walls of the ancient Egyptian tombs. An occasional water-buffalo is seen buried to its shoulder-tips in the water. Then six to ten women in their long black dresses pass in single file along the pathway which divides the fields—long black headshawls trailing in the dust to erase their footprints lest someone seeing these might curse the foot which has made them. They carry huge water-jars laid sidewise upon their heads, and wind down the path to the water's brink. "The gesture, superb and supple as [each] bends to the river and places the filled jar upright on her head cannot be equalled for grace," and they retrace their steps, sometimes chatting merrily, "with the stately grace that seems only given to those who carry burdens on their heads."[7]

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[4] Sidney Low, *Egypt in Transition* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 186. Fellah is masculine singular, fellaheen the plural; fellaha is feminine singular and fellahat the plural.

[5] The (London) *Times, Special Egypt Number,* Jan. 26, 1937, p. xxiv.

[6] Egypt's Delta is roughly one hundred fifty miles on a side. The seven-hundred-mile valley from Alexandria to Aswan is at its widest part only twelve miles from blue-grey desert hills on the east to desert mountains and plateau on the west. In places these mountains rise to nine hundred feet above the river. Cf. Boktor, *School and Society in the Valley of the Nile* (Cairo: Elias' Modern Press, 1936), p. 21 and *Almanac,* 1938 (Cairo: Government Press), pp. 40, 41.

[7] Winifred Blackman, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

The women and girls carry home on their heads the daily wages in kind. Baskets of vegetables or poultry are carried on their heads to the weekly market-center (another of the blessings bestowed by an orderly government to aid in a fair exchange for all). It is usually the women who beat out the *durra* (kafir corn) or maize with heavy sticks. They often do the winnowing by wind and after that by sieve. Then they wash the grain, dry it in the sun and grind it in the stone hand-mills—unless they are fortunate enough to live in a community which has a water-power mill of similar but larger construction. Women sift the flour and bake the bread in the huge mud-brick ovens. Wheat bread is almost unknown among the poorer people. Maize and *durra* are much more common, though when they can afford it they make their own whole wheat flour.

The fellaha is true helper to her husband, and an extra wife is to him another laborer in house and field—for at cotton-hoeing and picking time and at other busy seasons the women and children work in the fields with the men in a free comradeship, unveiled. (The village is inter-related, often two or three generations living in one house.) But should a strange man approach, the women suddenly disappear or draw some covering over their faces.

Women often spin the wool which is woven into cloth for the men's heavy cloaks or into rugs. Of recent years machine-made cloth is available for other garments at prices not too expensive, and often a progressive family will have a Singer sewing machine whose wheel is turned by hand as the women squat on the earthen floor to sew their simple garments.

The humble village home consists of only two rooms. The floor is mud, dampened to keep down the dust, and the walls are mud, washed over occasionally with fresh mud. The roof may be merely a thatch of palm fronds. Better houses may have a stairway which leads to the roof. Here rafters of palm trunks have been covered with a layer of palm fronds, then with a mud surface beaten hard. On the roof in the sunshine or in the open space before the door much of

the household work is performed.[8] On the roof also, is stored the pile of cotton stalks, fuel for the oven. This is a real fire-hazard, as many villagers have experienced. Sometimes on part of the roof a sitting-room has been built to which guests are ushered from the dark enclosure below. Benches of rough boards are covered with rugs or hard cotton cushions. Perhaps also piles of cylindrical tile stacked as logs serve as hives for bees which work in fields of beans and *barseem* (like alfalfa or sweet-clover). The honey is an important food and source of income.

In better village homes a wall of earthen bricks may enclose an open court shaded by palm trees or a spreading sycamore tree, or a grape-vine over a trellis.

> The kitchen consists of a bare dark room with a few baskets or jars along the side to contain the grain, a couple of stones on which is built the fire to heat the food . . . in the iron cooking-pot.

Often now it is a copper vessel tinned inside. Bread is truly the staff of life to the Egyptian, with a pickled turnip or bit of white cheese made from the whole milk of the water-buffalo, black olives or perhaps a radish or onion. Meat is rare indeed in the diet of the fellaheen. Their food and manner of eating are today much as pictured on the ancient tombs.

> There are no tables, no chairs, no beds; the earth serves for all three. At night a mat is spread upon the beaten ground, and the entire family curl upon it, wrapped in their clothes of the day.[9]

In the cold of winter the mat is laid atop the large mud-brick oven, especially if it has been bake day, or if they can afford a few cotton or corn stalks to burn in it. Heat from this supplements the combined body-heat of family and beasts brought inside for protection against marauders. There is no intrusion of night air, which is thought to be poisonous.[10]

Some character traits. Barely 13,000 square miles of ar-

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[8] Were it not for Egypt's gift of sunshine and the masses of her people living thus out-of-doors, ten months of the year in the sunshine and desert-purified breezes, it is probable that her people would have been exterminated long ago by disease.

[9] Quotations from Elizabeth Cooper, *Women of Egypt* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Limited, 1914), p. 145.

[10] School-girls from this class are afraid to sleep alone and invariably cover their heads with the *lahaf* (cotton-filled comfort) in nightly terror of the *afareet* (evil spirits).

able land, a space the size of Belgium or Maryland, is living space for sixteen million people—more than seven hundred persons per square mile![11] Because of this close living together the Egyptian woman knows nothing of the cleansing of soul in wide open spaces alone with God. She is always with people. And she has learned to prefer it so, for she lives in constant fear.

> The vast solitudes of the deserts are terrifying to the country folk, most of whom, up to the present day, cannot be induced to traverse even the lower fringes of those wastes after sunset. Fear of hyenas, and still more of *'afarit'* [*afareet*, evil spirits] forbids any man to venture beyond the cultivation of night. The ordinary peasant, unless he is obliged to watch over his sheep and goats, returns to his village before sunset, remaining there until just before dawn of the following day.[12]

It is because of these fears—of spirits, of animals, of robbers—that the fellaheen live in villages, not in separated farm-houses, and at night bring their animals under shelter of the family roof.

Might it be that the hospitality which seems characteristic of the East also has its root in these haunting fears? Once assured that strangers are friends, the fellahat's cordial greeting welcomes them into their circle under the tree for a friendly chat, or into the homes away from the piercing wind of winter months. To meet strangers and hear of the world outside, and most of all, to hear what these of other experiences have learned of God thrills the hearts of Egyptian peasant women. They are all deeply religious, constantly aware of the presence of Allah and his omnipotence. Welcome indeed to their burdened hearts is the love revealed which releases from bondage to fear and bestows the spirit of adoption which says "Father," and receives the answering witness, "We are children of God . . . . His heirs . . . . joint-heirs with Christ."[13] Love speaks a language these can understand.

The fellaha with her sisters makes up fully ninety per

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[11] In the desert areas which are the remaining part of political Egypt, twenty-nine thirtieths of the land, there are perhaps eight persons to a square mile. Cf. Boktor, *op. cit.*, p. 21 and *Almanac*, 1938, (Cairo: Government Press), pp. 40, 41.

[12] Winifred Blackman, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[13] Romans, 8:14-17.

cent of the women of Egypt, either living in the villages to till the soil or in city sections so little removed from their way of life and thought that there is little distinction.[14] Often a city-dweller of humble home will apologize for her ignorance by saying "I'm only a fellaha." On being assured of the visitors' love for country places and their people her tone takes on its true pride of race and origin. And she is justly proud, for the fellaheen of Egypt are a noble people.

The great mass of the people are, as in Pharoah's day, of Nilotic stock. "A slow, self-contained peasant folk", they have submitted more or less passively through the centuries to Arab, Kurd, Circassian, Albanian, and Turkish over-lords whose descendants are many of today's landowners. These overlords were Muslim, and since British Occupation (1882) it is they who have largely monopolized government offices and political control. When these Muslim rulers first came in 640 A.D., Egypt was Christian, at least in name, though her people were neglected intellectually and spiritually. Through inter-marriage and because of economic and political pressure so many have been Islamized that today ninety per cent of all Egypt, ninety-eight per cent of the Delta, claim the Muslim faith. Yet, despite all their neglectedness and oppression, when opportunity for growth and training is granted, these peasant folk can and many do become outstanding leaders.

The unswerving industry of these fellaheen is the foundation of Egypt's economic prosperity. Lord Cromer indicated that without this and their "remarkable recuperative power" after oppression, his project of financial rehabilitation would have been doomed to failure.[15] Such industry has been greatly encouraged since the British Occupation which soon freed the fellaheen from the galling yoke of taxation, forced labor and military service that had been worse than the serfdom under the Mamelukes. Serfdom has given place to drudgery.[16]

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[14] Amine Youssef, *Independent Egypt* (London: John A. Murray, 1940), pp. 36, 40.
[15] Boktor, *op. cit.*, p. 26 and Amine Youssef, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
[16] Sidney Low, *Egypt in Transition* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), pp. 293-294.

Since 1896 the number of small landowners has increased and many are proud of their own little plot for vegetables and cotton.[17] This gives women as well as men a certain self-respect which is very wholesome. Seeing that they can do something to better their own financial condition helps to widen their understanding of God and increases their readiness to learn more of His loving provision for them.

> It is possible so to denude the soul of aspiration that it takes on the quietude of death. A few people continue to strive, to seek, to find, but the mass of people surrender to the forces of inertia.[18]

That is what their oppressed condition and their doctrine of fatalism had done for Egypt, especially for her women. The will of Allah is omnipotent, man is given no part in determining the future, woman even less. With the landlord crushing at one side and the wolf of hunger at the other, ignorance ruling her mind and superstition chilling her heart in fear—fear of the evil eye, fear of divorce, fear of another wife, fear in this life and fear for the next—her hands never idle, but roughened by hard toil aided by the minimum of comfort or convenience, a new baby every year (many of whom die in infancy), and disease always everywhere—it is small wonder that the fellaha has long grown old before her time. Yet even so the free life in the fields and open-air "has saved many of these poor women from mental stagnation and slavish dependence on the will of their menfolk." Some have developed a strength of character, independence and resourcefulness which has made them "the dominating factor in their homes."[19]

Women in the villages and on the farms are still old-fashioned in life and thought. They come into little if any contact with European women. They have nothing much of education, and less to suggest change in their environment. Yet in spite of all this or because of it, they have stronger characters and purer hearts than those who have Europeanized themselves by superficially imitating Westerners in outward appearance, losing thereby their natural reserve and dig-

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[17] Sir Valentine Chirol, *The Egyptian Problem* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1921) p. 160 and Boktor, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 24, 54.
[18] Roy A. Burkhart, *Understanding Youth* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1938), p. 93.
[19] W. Wilson Cash, *The Moslem World in Revolution* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1926), p. 102.

nity and lowering themselves perceptibly in the eyes of their Egyptian sisters.[20]

The women themselves are the most conservative element of society, clinging tenaciously to their old customs and traditions. Men, because of the psychology of the veil, have had the broader contacts. Men travel freely by the trains and buses which now thread the land. The women are more often kept busy at home, or commanded to stay there, and they obey in fear. It is the village men, the men of the servant class and of the artisans, who have bought the material for the women's clothes and brought it home to them. For village women there has been no change in fashions. In fact, there is often no change of the long-sleeved Mother Hubbard gray-print dress until the one she has literally falls in tatters or unless a new one can be provided for a feast.

And how the Easterner loves a feast-time perhaps no mere Westerner can ever know. The little girls bedeck themselves in gaudy red and yellow or bright blue dresses, all bespangled with lace and beads. Bracelets, bangles and earrings often appear then for the first time. Spending is far beyond their means for weddings, at the birth of a son, for circumcision ceremonies, and other merry-makings. Sometimes a fellaha wears a necklace of carnelian which, despite its begrimed condition, could be quite the envy of a Western woman. In at least one village, women wear gold ear-rings large enough to be used as bracelets, and a marriage necklace or many bracelets of gold sometimes amaze one in the midst of the purposeful or habitual camouflage of abject poverty.[21] Remembrance of the merciless tax-collector explains this "protective coloring" which Christians have assumed in their struggle to survive.[22]

Yet, she of the villages is often much better off than her fellah sisters living in the cities. Louis Bertrand described

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[20] Kamil Mansour, In Milton Stauffer, *Voices from the Near East* (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, copyright, John A. Murray, Jr., 1927), p. 53.

[21] Her gold thus secured on her person is often all a woman can claim as her own, and true peasant women have very little of that.

[22] Mrs. Butcher's two-volume *History of the Coptic Church of Egypt*, (London: Smith Elder and Company, 1897), 2 Vols., 497 pp. makes this point clear, a real revelation to one who had noted that often the dirtiest, most dejected homes are those nominally Christian, be they in city or village places.

the slums of the Orient as surpassing those of the West. He gives "positively nauseating pictures of the poorer quarters of the great Levantine towns like Cairo, Constantinople, and Jerusalem." Stoddard omits Bertrand's "More poignant details" but retains this, the details of which are common today:

> In Cairo, as elsewhere in Egypt, the wretchedness and grossness of the poorer-class dwellings are perhaps even more shocking than in the other Eastern lands. Two or three dark airless rooms usually open on a hallway not less obscure. The plaster, peeling off from the ceilings and the worm-eaten laths of the walls, falls constantly to the filthy floors. The straw mats and bedding are infested by innumerable vermin.[23]

These have not the benefit of country air and sunshine in their congested city streets which are often too narrow to permit a carriage to pass through them. Even the roofs are crowded beyond imagination with crates of scrawny chickens, the family wash-tub of water that is thick with dirt, and garments spread to dry which have never known soap. Their very hearts seem crowded. Yet city fellahat are now always within reach of clinics and school opportunities—if they know how to take advantage of them.

The fellahat wherever found have an "irresistible fascination" where "the charm of their simple courtesies", their "unaffected hospitality," and "a certain native grace . . . . shines through all the ways of a life so primitive."[24]

Some trends today. Living "crowded in clay huts . . . . in the midst of dirt and . . . . no sanitary accommodations, no water supply but the muddy canal where the germs of parasitic diseases breed and multiply", one often wonders how such self-respecting and well-dressed youths can emerge, and how village girls coming from these "dingy collections of mud houses" can blossom quickly into cultured, capable women. Today "a larger sprinkling of two-storied houses built of sun-dried bricks" is seen and some village young

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[23] Theodore Lothrop Stoddard, *The New World of Islam* (New York: C. Scribners' Sons, 1921), footnote on p. 318, quoting Louis Bertrand, *Le Mirage oriental*, pp. 111-112.
[24] S. H. Leeder, *Modern Sons of the Pharaohs*, p. 81, as quoted by Boktor, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

people are getting an education and holding worthy positions in schools and offices.[25]

Outwardly the life of village-dwellers has changed very little, yet there are fundamental changes which do not appear on the surface. With the advent of the automobile, travel became easier than by donkey-back. Rattling buses (a few good ones) travel frequently between the *muderia* (provincial capital) towns and outlying villages. Men come from long distances to these centers on varied errands, and take home with them new ideas of life in a changing world. They also take trinkets for wife and daughters from the variety shops which are somewhat comparable to America's ten-cent stores. Throngs of fellaheen from other villages visit the same city and the same stores.[26]

Then there are the traveling clinics, and the permanent ones where the Government and other private or group agencies teach new lessons in health and in sanitation.[27]

> It may seem strange as one visits a fellaheen village on the Nile that the Egyptian mother does not brush the flies from the baby's face, which is sometimes all but completely covered. One wonders whether it is because the flies are so thick that it would be hopeless, but that is not the answer. If the baby's eyes were free from flies and its face clean, the evil eye might be immediately attracted to it. Neglect of the baby, of course, means terribly diseased eyes, but keeps [p. 278] it safe from attracting an evil spirit. Hence, millions of babies born every year in Egypt see the world through bleared vision.[28]

In one child-welfare clinic where a physician and an oculist gave their services thrice weekly it was found that ninety-two percent of the eye cases were trachoma. The Government has begun to combat conditions in these villages of many flies and many children with diseased eyes by clean-

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[25] Phrases quoted are from Boktor, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-54,—an Egyptian speaking of his own country.

[26] Dr. A. A. Thompson, long-time friend of village people, particularly as American Mission councillor and inspector for the one hundred fifty schools of the Evangelical Church, most of which are in village places, wrote in a letter of December 4, 1942:

"When we left Assiut in 1938 there were scores of villages within a radius of twenty miles of Assiut and beyond, which seemed to be living as they had done for ages past. But even though there are few signs in those same villages of progress, there are probably more than appear on the surface. There is a certain amount of interchange between village and village, and also between village and town. The Mudiria towns [provincial capitals] of course were to a certain extent leaders of the village life, because men and women came from all those villages to the Mudiria town for something or other. In thus coming they [saw] something of the changes which were taking place."

[27] Cf. Post, Chapter VII, "Thousands of babies born every year" would probably be more accurate. Their condition and numbers are truly distressful.

[28] Woodsmall, *Moslem Women enter a New World*, pp. 277-278.

ing up the villages and educating the people to healthful living. Moving pictures and lectures may now be had for the asking. In more recent years the Government Health Department has been systematically providing approved water supply for city people and in some of the villages. They have been filling up *birkas,* those breeders of mosquitoes and disease.[29] Popular education of fellaheen through pictures and demonstrations and other publicity are being carried on by city women's organizations and others, also by various of the Government agencies.[30]

A growing number of Egyptian people are awake to the appalling needs of village life. Effective steps are being taken by individuals, by organizations and by the Government to better living conditions for those who by generations of poverty, disease and ignorance of anything else have been rendered so largely helpless to help themselves.

Perhaps most of all, village life is being changed by the entrance of schools. Not nearly all villages have them, but they are increasing in number.[31] Although compulsory education for all children from seven to twelve is provided for in the Constitution of 1923 it is as yet available to only a small fraction of the village population. Unfortunately schools have not seized their opportunity to send many pupils back into the villages trained for better farming methods and home-betterment programs. Government schools have so far been fitting men rather for "white-collar jobs", particularly in the many offices of railway, telephone, telegraph, and irrigation services. Assiut College Dairy and Edmu village as a soil-education-center for boys and girls, are not new but are as yet lone pioneering projects toward a village population trained for more effective rural living.[32] A few far-seeing Egyptians, through the Agricultural Exposition and other publicity projects are now agitating for Government Agricultural schools.

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[29] Cf. ante, p. 32.

[30] Madame Azer Goubran, National President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, personal correspondence, March 2, 1943.

[31] Sir Humphrey Bowman, England's Educational Advisor in Egypt, regretted that, as in India, the problem of rural education had been neglected, although considerable attention was given to secondary schools and universities. Cf. Bowman, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[32] Both are under American Mission direction, training Egyptians.

Though Egyptians have not yet learned to make the school the rich center for community life which the district school in America was a generation ago, yet they do stimulate interest in a world beyond the village, and it is not unusual for a remote village home to rejoice that a son is now in law school or even that a daughter has gone to live with a relative in Cairo or some other city to attend school.[33]

Awakened Egypt had a terrific task before her with ninety-six per cent of her women illiterate. Amazing progress has been made, in the face of great obstacles. Little by little some few of Egypt's peasant women are being lifted from despair to hope. Changes in thinking have truly come to even the fellahat. With their faithful daily toil, their freedom in God's out-of-doors, and their growing awareness of a changing world, they too are having a part in building the New Egypt.

MARGARET WORK

Cairo, Egypt

Arabs and the Radio

According to an article in *Time,* a poll was taken by the staff of the American University of Beirut in fifteen towns of Syria and Palestine with this result:

Radio reaches only about 5% of the Arab public—some 250,000 people, mostly of the urban upper class. Most Arab radio sets can get short, medium and long wave—except in Damascus, whose nearby mountains keep the city in a "pocket." The Arabs listen most to world news, dance music, religious programs. They listen least to troops' programs, plays, poetry. A third or more Arab listeners are not interested in comments on the news.

More than a third of the Arab listeners understand spoken English. Practically none of them tune in on foreign languages other than English and French. Of the 23 broadcasting stations chiefly heard, Arabs listened most (in this order) to: Cairo, London, Jerusalem, Beirut, Sharq-el-Adna, Damascus, New York, Moscow. New York is static-bound (in summer) and in a poor position on the Arab's time schedule. Not enough Arabs know Russian to give Moscow radio a good score. For world news, London is more popular than its three nearest competitors (Cairo, Jerusalem, Beirut) combined. It can also be heard more clearly than any but local stations. London made top score for the station which gives "the freshest news, and up to one-third of the listeners said that their own local stations had the stalest news."

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[33] These homes perhaps above all others, welcome the messenger of God's love and His salvation in Christ Jesus.

AN ARMENIAN ACCOUNT OF ISLAM AND THE ARAB CONQUESTS

The sorrows of the Armenian people and the tribulations of the Armenian Church under Turkish misrule are well enough known even to the general public which has no particular interest in the Oriental Churches or in the problem of Islam. What is not so well known, however, even to those who are interested in Islam and the Oriental Churches, is that there was a great deal of contact between the Armenians and the Arabs under the Omayyad Caliphate, and that in the Armenian writers there is quite an amount of information available to students of the social, economic and political history of the Caliphate, which is generally ignored by modern writers on those subjects.

In a recent study of the supposed exchange of correspondence between the Caliph 'Umar II and the Byzantine Emperor Leo III (the Isaurian), a lengthy text of which is preserved in the Armenian historian Ghevond, the present writer had occasion to use the second edition of Ghevond published at St. Petersburg in 1887, to which is prefixed a substantial introduction by the editor K. Iziants, which not only gave some account of the principles on which the new edition was based, but also gave a very interesting account of the rise and progress of Islam and its impact on Armenia as seen by a modern Armenian writer.

Modern Armenians, as a matter of fact, have not been backward in the study of Islam. Three translations of the Qur'ān into modern Armenian have been published for the use of Armenians, whose daily contact with Muslim communities made it imperative that they know exactly what the teachings of the Muslim scripture were, and others are known in MS though they have never found publication. In 1930 Bishop Babgen Kuleserian, in publishing with the Mekhitarists at Vienna an edition of the famous tractate "Contra Mohammedanos" of Grigor Tathewatsi (see *Moslem World,*

July, 1942), along with some other documents, made particular reference to the contributions of Armenians to Islamic studies, and there is some hope that the work there initiated may be continued.

The essay of K. Iziants, it is true, does not contain much that is new to scholars, but it has considerable interest as a picture of Islam seen through Armenian eyes, so at my request, a young Vartabet of the Armenian Church in New York, the Rev. Terenig Poladian, has made a translation of the whole essay for the *Moslem World,* to whose readers we commend it for its intrinsic interest.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University

INTRODUCTION

Armenian historians are held in high esteem by European scholars, not only because they give a complete history of their fatherland, but because they present much material with diverse information about the political affairs of neighboring countries, and thereby complete the history of those countries from the fourth century to recent times. For this reason such historians of ours as Ghevond—whose historical work will soon be published in a new edition—Sebeos, Hovhanness Catholicos, Asoghik, Thovma Ardzrouni etc., who tell of the origins of the rule of the Arabs and their early conquests, are very helpful to scholars.

In order that our readers may better understand the entire history of Ghevond, and also our other historians, who treat of the Arabs, we deem it useful to present here, succinctly, the history of the origin of Arab rule, the causes of its growth and fall with information about the internal administration, the taxes and currency, the military class, the literature, the history of the world-wide sovereignty of Caliphs, and the condition of conquered nations, especially that of the Armenians, under their rule throughout the centuries.

PART I

When the rulers of the two strong nations, under whose sway was the land of Armenia, emperor Heraclius of the Greeks and Chosroes Parvez, the king of kings, [i.e., of the Persians], were relentlessly waging war with each other to dominate the world, a new man appeared in the Arabian desert as a herald of a new doctrine. He was destined to have a great role in the history of mankind, and demolish the dynasties of these two powerful nations.

Mohammed was from the old and noble family of the Quraishites, who had the charge of guarding the sacred place of the Arabs, the heathen temple of the Ka'ba at Mecca. On one of the walls of this temple a square black stone was set, which was said to have been given by the Archangel Gabriel to Ishmael, the patriarch of the Arabs. When Mohammed was a youth, he often travelled in foreign countries to trade. There he met with the true faith concerning the one God according to the belief of the Christians and the Jews, and thus learned the fallacy of the polytheistic idolatry of his own nation. From the people who came every year in multitudes to Mecca, some to trade and some to worship at the holy places, he learned about the many political systems, conditions and laws of the Jews and the Christians.

When Mohammed became a mature man, he married a wealthy widow named Khadīja; thus being free from concerns of his daily needs, he spent his time in meditation and rumination.

Since the Jews were expecting the coming of the Messiah, and since Christ promised that the Father would send the Comforter who would teach and bring to remembrance all His words (John 14:26), these ideas struck Mohammed and he imagined that he was the man from whom the world was waiting to learn. As he suffered from the falling sickness, it was easy for him to convince the people that he was in communication with the angels and received messages from them. Mohammed was forty years old when he began to preach his doctrine, namely, that there is one God, and Mohammed is His prophet. Only his wife and kinsmen (Abu-Bekr and Ali) and his few friends believed in his preaching. But the people, in general, got so enraged that he was obliged to flee to Medina. His flight, called the Hijra, from Mecca to the city of Medina, took place on the 16th of July 622, the day by which the Mohammedans reckon their date.

In the city of Medina Mohammed found adherents, through whose aid he again entered Mecca and conquered it, and got hold of the idols of the temple. Though the people abhorred seeing their gods ridiculed, and grieved, yet they were frightened by the formidable power of the conqueror, who with the sword and the statement of the law in his hands, demanded that they obey him. So, all yielded and recognized him as the prophet of God. Soon all Arabia believed in one God, i.e., Allah, and in his prophet, Mohammed.

Mohammed considered Moses and Jesus as prophets, and himself as being called to the fulfilment of their revelations. These, which he said he received from the Archangel Gabriel, are oral pronouncements concerning incidents and affairs of that time. After his death all these were gathered together in a book called the Qur'ān, which became the Bible of the Mohammedans. It contains all his laws, and

his entire religious and secular ordinances. The Qur'ān teaches that there is an eternal God, the creator and the Provider of the Universe, and also the resurrection of the dead and eternal life. It commands the people to worship at Mecca as they did formerly, circumcision of the male at birth as was established by Abraham, frequent ablutions according to the custom of the Easterners, praying five times daily facing Mecca, keeping fast and giving alms. It also permits polygamy and forbids the drinking of wine and eating of pork, which was considered unclean. It lays down these important laws in order that the faithful should strive to disseminate the holy faith (Islām) among foreign nations. It teaches that those who fall in war will inherit the kingdom wherein various enjoyments wait for them, and wherein handsome brown-eyed nymphs will serve them. [It also prescribes that] the life of man depends upon the foreordination of God, who decrees beforehand the fate of every one. This is called fortune or destiny. There is no means of escaping it. The Qur'ān forbids the use of pictures which portray the resemblance of man, lest the faithful be corrupted and turn to the worship of idols.

Out of the beliefs of the Jews and Christians, of Zoroaster, and possibly of the heresy of the Manicheans, much was introduced into Mohammedanism. The beliefs of the religion of Mazdeism entered into Mohammedanism by the two ways, either immediately through Zoroastrian books, or through the Jewish writings, especially the Talmud. From the latter are taken: the doctrine of resurrection of the dead, traditions concerning heaven and hell, the whole doctrine of demons (demonism), the description of the last terrible judgment and the sufferings after death, the story of the so-called Sirat bridge, which has the thinness of a hair, and stretches between paradise and hell. Certainly, all these have been introduced into the Qur'ān from the Midrash, the Hebrew writings. There are also immediate intrusions from the book of Zoroaster—we will not consider all of these—for in many places in the Qur'ān, Persian words like dīn[1] (daena) have been used. The greater part of the rites of the Mohammedan religion has been taken from the primitive rites of the Arabs, when they were idolaters; for example, the journey to the mosque of Mecca for worship and prayer. After the death of Mohammed the Qur'ān was influenced by extraneous doctrines. Heresies began to appear in the religion of the Mohammedans after the Arabs came into communication with the Syrian Christian people.

On Monday, on the eighth day of the month of June, in the year of our Lord 632, when the sun was setting, in the public place of the city of Medina, in front of the mosque, there was agitation and tumult. It seemed that all the people were waiting for news, great

[1] dīn (daena) means religion, faith.

news, but not of joy, for the faces of all the people were afflicted. Soon after supper the herald announced the hour of worship, and everybody stood up. Then, a man about sixty years old came out from a house which was near the mosque. The color of his face was white; he had a lean countenance; his beard was colored red; his forehead under the turban was wide. In general it seemed that the man was much older and weaker than his age would indicate. This was the father-in-law of Mohammed, whose name was Abu-Bekr. He came out quietly from the main door of the mosque in order to offer prayer in place of Mohammed. All were frightened at this, for they immediately knew that Mohammed had no longer strength to come and worship God, for he never, even in times of sickness, forsook public worship, and besides in the morning hour of the same day the people had seen him. But Mohammed was lying in bed in his house with a fever, and had laid his head in the arms of his beloved wife Ayesha, the daughter of Abu-Bekr, who was a beautiful woman eighteen years old. He often lost his senses and fell into delirium; his breath was little by little hindered from entering his throat, it became heavy and stopped. While Ayesha was muttering prayers, she saw that Mohammed was dead.

The pen cannot depict the measure and extent of agitation and noise that arose hither and thither when the people heard that Mohammed was dead, for in a short time the work that he had accomplished could be undone. Since the multitude was not established in the new faith, since disunion arose among the relatives and kinsmen of Mohammed, and since the prophet had not appointed any one to succeed him, they hoped that they could return to their former liberty, and to the religion of their forefathers. But the multitude of the people chose Abu-Bekr, because he had consented to carry on the faith of Mohammed, instead of his own. With him swore Omar also, an intimate friend and associate of Mohammed; and all followed the example of Omar.

When all took oath of allegiance to Abu-Bekr, he stood up and spoke to those who were around him the following words: "You have chosen me to govern and take care of you. If I do that which is good, help me, if I do that which is bad, despise me; for to tell the truth in the presence of princely men is the sign of faithfulness and love, but to conceal it is a sign of treachery. All of you whether strong or weak will be deemed equal in my sight; I will judge your affairs with justice. If ever I turn aside from the paths of the laws of God and His prophet, let your oath be dissolved and do not obey me."

Abu-Bekr chose Omar as his successor and sought after reform. He governed the people justly, in return for which all obeyed him, and did not complain because they were satisfied. But Omar did not

follow his example; he undertook the election of his successor according to the will and direction of the six elders. Although, more than anybody else, Ali had the right to succeed Omar, for he had close kinship with Mohammed, whose nephew he was, and whose beloved daughter Fatima he had married. Through the intrigues and efforts of Ayesha, Ali was not elected at this time, but Othman, who although a good and noble man was weak-willed and lazy. Consequently he was not able to fulfill the needs of his people and govern the dynasty which was growing and becoming stronger day by day with new victories. When he was killed in the year 655, dissension and internal warfare ensued. Shortly after, Ali was chosen as Caliph. He was good in conduct and merciful and lived a simple life. When the people swore allegiance to him, he relied on his arrow. It seemed that because of his birth-right and his unanimous election by the people they would obey him sincerely. But this did not last long. Because of the intrigues and efforts of Ayesha and Moawiya, the prefect of the Syrians, and also of Amru, the prefect of Egypt, who united with them, some people laid accusation against him, as though he had been associated with the killing of Othman, and so they revolted against him. Ali fell in the bloody and terrible battle; his son, Hasan, who was chosen by the partisans of Ali, succeeded him. But later, Moawiya seized the caliphate and moved the seat of the dynasty from Medina to Damascus.

The rule of the first caliphs, as the word indicates, was a religious sovereignty, directing the people in matters of religion. But they also conducted all the affairs of the people; they were the judges, and in time of war, the generals of the armies. The mode of life of the earlier caliphs did not differ greatly from the life of the common Arab. Abu-Bekr received as payment five pennies daily from the public treasury. Omar did not leave anything after his death except his clothes, his slave and his camel. He slept with the beggars on the stairs of the mosque. Othman gave an accurate account for every penny. The caliphs did not have the right to take life, for they themselves were under judgment.

The sources of the income of the dynasty were as follows: a *per capita* tax on every conquered nation; a head tax; an income tax for the needy; a tithe from the land of the Mohammedans; a custom tax on the goods sold and manufactured by the artisans; food and ammunition from the conquered nations as payment to the armies; a fine from the defeated peoples; one fifth of the booty of war; four fifths customarily was distributed to the Mohammedans.

The Byzantines also had these first two types of taxes called *tributum capitis* and *tributum soli*. We know that in Persia the Sassanids had a poll-tax for each person. Omar fixed the tax rate exactly. In

Egypt and Syria and in all other places where gold was used [for transaction] for every adult male a tax of four dinars *(solidis)* was imposed yearly. But in places where transactions were carried on in silver, as in Mesopotamia and Persia, the tax was forty pieces of Sassanian silver. But in different countries, and even from province to province, the tax-rate varied. Similarly the rate of the land tax fluctuated.

All the Mohammedans had one and the same rights. The territories of the conquered countries belonged to the common treasury of the government. Every Mohammedan had the right to yearly payment from the treasury. But he could not possess land and cultivate it in the countries of the subdued nations because the Mohammedans became a military class. The conquered peoples had to cultivate the land and provide food to satisfy the needs of the Mohammedans. For this reason, while other people strove to evade enrollment, in order to be exempt from tax payment, the Mohammedans willingly enrolled, since it was a source of income for them.

Those peoples who were not Mohammedan by religion had on their necks a particular insignia which showed that they had been enrolled.

These laws, which were completed in the time of Omar, provided great privileges for the Mohammedans. Thus, during the period of the conquest of the Arabs, multitudes from different faiths were seized and brought into the fold of Mohammedanism. This is one of the causes for the spread of the Mohammedan religion within a short time.

At the time of the earlier caliphs, the administration of the government of the [conquered] countries, the collection of the taxes, and currency, remained unchanged, as they had been in each country previous to their subjection by the Arabs. Greeks and Persians were the government officials, and their language was used in administrative affairs. Those peoples who were not Mohammedans governed themselves, and their religious head was their judge.

When the Arabs accepted the religion of Mohammed, they already had knowledge of warfare which was enhanced by [their contact with] neighboring nations—Byzantines and Persians. They had also received training through continual skirmishes with each other.

The military classes of the Arabs were formed in accordance with each race. They consisted of infantry and cavalry. The arms of the infantry were the shield, the spear, the sword, the bow and the sling. For defense the infantry used a big wooden shield with leather or metal, or a small shield called *tharch*. The cavalry's weapon was a long lance. Even when Mohammed was alive the Arabs knew how to divide their armies into three legions: the middle or the central

legion, the right and left wings, the advanced guard and the rear guard. The cavalry defended the two wings of the army from the right side and the left. The legion of archers had a separate detachment, and every tribe had its own banner. The courage of the Mohammedan armies was inspired by their hope of entering into Paradise and especially by the expectation of getting the booty of the conquered and the spoil of the dead. But besides this, the militarism of the Arabs was superior to that of the other nations of the time and even of today, for in general they were frugal and accustomed to hunger, thirst and hardships. Therefore they were agile in warfare.

During the time of the first, and especially of the second caliph, the Arabs subjugated many countries. Rich countries like Syria, Babylon, and Egypt were subdued one after the other and fell under their sway. In every conquered country there was always stationed a fully equipped army that guarded the country and kept the people in submission. The generals of these armies were the prefects, who at their own discretion chose their officers. They were the vicegerents of the caliphs in matters of religion, the leaders of the military forces, the governors and the judges of the affairs of the country, and they collected taxes for the royal treasury from the conquered peoples. The Caliph Omar minimized the rights of the prefects, by appointing officers called Qadis, in different regions. They, as tax collectors, were independent of the authority of the prefects. This did not please the prefects, for it reduced greatly their source of income. Amr, who had conquered Egypt and was the prefect there, complained against this ordinance of Omar saying, "How is it that I have the bones of the cow, while strangers get the milk?"

The laws and constitutions of Omar, by which he regulated the internal and external affairs of the Mohammedans, to this very day are considered the basis of law in all Mohammedan countries.

After the bloody war of the Omayyads under the leadership of Moawiya against Ali, who was considered their leader and guardian of the old ordinances and customs, the era of the mode of government of the earlier caliphs was terminated. The victory of Moawiya marked not only the beginning of the new systems of government, but through him Mohammedanism was divided into two main factions, the Sunnites and the Shiites. Throughout the ages, in the history of the Mohammedan peoples, the schism of Moawiya had manifold consequences.

Moawiya, the founder of the Omayyad dynasty, which Mohammed called the beggarly one, had under Omar the prefecture at Damascus, and very shortly was a new power. At the time of Othman he received the prefecture over all the Syrians; his dominion was greatly enlarged. But when he became Caliph he established his

throne in Damascus, which became and remained the capital of the caliphs during the entire reign of the Omayyads (661 to 750 A.D.).

Damascus is a very old city. It was built before the beginning of historical times. From ancient times it was famous in all Asia Minor; its kings ruled over all the Assyrians. Because of its suitable situation, even in early ages, Damascus became a center where peoples of various countries came into contact and began to barter with one another. For this reason the civil life soon flourished. We have no information as to what the condition of Damascus was during the dominion of the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Babylonians and Persians. Only in the prophet Ezekiel is there some brief information about it. Alexander the Great, after the victory at the river Issus, found in Damascus the treasure and the concubines of King Darius. After Alexander, Damascus fell under the rule of the Seleucids. Later, in the time of Tigranes [the Great, king of Armenia], the Arshakounian [dynasty] of the Armenians subjugated it. But when Tigranes the Great was defeated by Pompey, the entire land of Assyria fell under the sway of the Romans, whose vice-consuls often sat at Damascus. In this city the apostle Paul preached. Here the emperor Theodosius built a temple of God, and Diocletian renewed its ramparts. During the wars between the Byzantines and the Persians the city was ruined and lost its glory. The ruins of the ramparts which exist until now are the witness of its greatness at the time when the Arabs conquered it.

During the time of the Omayyads, Damascus was greatly enlarged and prospered. Its public places were full of wares and fabrics brought there from the various parts of the world. Countless people swarmed in it; the works of Byzantine architects adorned it. Moawiya built his royal mansions in the city. But especially Walid I enriched and adorned it. At this time the palaces of the caliphs were decorated with gold and marble; their ceilings, walls and floors were made of mosaic. Fountains of water spread sweetly and gently; their babblings and murmurings used to bring sleep to the eyes. Flocks of singing birds warbled day and night in the branches of the leafy trees and on speckled ivy plants. Inside, in the halls, the beautiful women of the country lived, who were served by slaves dressed in splendid silk with diversified colours. Also a great many historians and poets, singers and players lived in the mansions to entertain and praise the caliphs.

Formerly, the condition of women in the palaces of the caliphs was not so bad and inferior as it became in later times in Mohammedan countries. They enjoyed liberty, and had so important a role in the decisions of civil affairs, that they themselves were the true rulers of the kingdom (as during the reign of 'Abd al-Melik). But from the time of Walid II (743-744 A.D.) harems were introduced

and the condition of women was changed. From Byzantium the caliphs got the custom of having eunuchs to serve their wives and to guard their harems. From that time the eunuchs became important men at the courts of the eastern princes. From Persia the custom of drinking wine was introduced, though the Qur'ān forbids the usage.

Although the caliphs of Damascus usually lived a luxurious and debauched life, and did not take care of the affairs of the government, nevertheless they had some obligations which they did not fail to perform. The first of these obligations and the most onerous of all was to go five times to the mosque to offer the order of public prayers. On Fridays the caliphs had to preach to the people. On these days, especially when a solemn feast occurred, with great pomp they used to go to the mosque, dressed in white and wearing a pointed turban. In this manner they stood on the pulpit and preached. They also did this on the day when they were chosen for the caliphate. According to the old custom they also had to sit on the tribunal and judge, for they were the chief judges of their countries. The external insignia of honor and rank of the caliphs were a seal-ring, and a scepter in the form of a javelin.

When the dynasty of the Omayyads came to an end and the Abbasids began to rule, Damascus then declined from its greatness and became like one of the cities in the provinces. In its place the city of Bagdad flourished, and became the capital of the Abbasids during the reign of the second caliph of this house.

At the time of the Abbasids the Persians were held in great honor at the royal court and were important in administrative affairs; they were the chief officials in the government. The Sassanid Persian manners and customs were introduced into the court. The Arabs became accustomed to celebrate their feasts—the Navrouz, the Mihrkan and the Ram. They dressed in their style and wore the black conical turban. At this time the custom of wearing a cloak was also introduced. This was made of embroidery with characters in golden thread at the top, which the caliphs gave as presents.

After these changes in the manners of the court and in the mansions of the nobles, trouble and agitation of mind arose in matters of religion. New heresies appeared which introduced innovations into their faith. Thus, in general, all neglected their faith.

The provinces were divided into three divisions according to administrative and political circumstances. Firstly, the holy land, which was Mecca and its vicinity. Secondly, the land where the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina were situated, that is original Arabia (Hijaz). Thirdly, all the other countries of the empire. At the time of Moawiya the Arab empire was divided into ten states, one of which was Armenia. At the time of the former Abbasids there were twelve

states, one of which was Mesopotamia (Gezira), including Armenia and Azerbaijan, but later these were severed from Mesopotamia and became separate states. The chief officials of the states were the prefects, whose rights and power were very extensive. The Omayyads deprived the prefects of their administrative power over the treasury and the law-court, and transferred it to special officials. In some places the prefects administered the treasury and the law court, which sometimes were granted to them by the caliphs in token of their love and loyalty to them. At the time of the caliphate of Yezid I (680-683 A.D.) the custom of getting the right of prefecture by bribery was introduced. Later, still worse customs were introduced, for the prefects at the courts and palaces of the caliphs ruled the countries under their sovereignty, through their loyal men. These, by every effort sought, according to the measure of their intrigues and vices, to increase the income and spoil of the countries for their own profit and for their lord-prefects.

In the time of the Abbasids, as the power of the caliphs decreased, the rights and power of the prefects, who were almost independent of the caliphs, increased. Even with this the caliphs were satisfied because [they wanted] to be known as the religious leaders and heads of all the Mohammedans. They only ruled in the state wherein their city was the capital.

During the time of the Abbasids the office of the commander-in-chief (Vezir) was established. The vezirs were the generals of all the armies of the empire and the chief counsellors of the caliphs. Through them all the affairs of the government were settled. The royal expenses and income were in their hands. Their power sometimes grew and sometimes diminished, according to the mood and pleasure of the caliphs.

In order to simplify the communication between the caliphs and the prefects, Moawiya founded the office of notary, where a copy of every paper that was sent by the caliph to the prefects, sealed by his ring, was kept. They also appointed couriers to carry letters, in the manner of the Byzantines and the Persians. The Arabs also had pigeons which carried mail. There were also instituted other tribunals for taxes, accounts, and royal properties.

The third caliph of the Abbasid family said that it was necessary for the caliph to have a righteous judge, a just overseer for interior reform, an expert officer for the royal treasury and a loyal chief for the couriers. It is needful to know that the overseers of reform, from the beginning, were the generals of the armies that guarded the caliphs. But as for those, who were called the chiefs of the couriers, their duty was to watch the affairs of the government in every state and to give reports to the caliphs. It is convenient to call them overseers of the secret police, as the present manner of speaking is.

The mode of administration of the treasury during the time of the Omayyads was unorganized; different states practised different ways, each place according to its ancient customs, the West in the manner of Byzantines, the East according to that of the Persians. The constitution of Omar I, concerning taxes was the same as that of Chosrov Anoushirvan. Accordingly, the Arabs introduced the usage of weights and measures and the currency of these nations. Even at the time of the Abbasids the exact manner of collecting taxes was not established, because every state had its own possessions and rights, according to the nature of the treaty which had been made when they were subdued by the Arabs, or according to the prerogatives granted to them by the caliphs.

The state taxes were gathered into the treasury of the prefects, who provided from these for the needs of the armies, and other expenses of the state government. The remainder was sent to the caliphs for the royal treasury. As the power of the caliphs decreased and the rights of the prefects increased, the royal income diminished because the prefects did not send any longer to the court the residue of the taxes.

In the time of the Abbasids the kinds of taxes were as follows: three kinds of land taxes, viz., a tax according to the size of the land, a tax according to the income, a tax from fees for office; a tax on possessions; a tithe from ships; one fifth of the products of mines and pasturages; a poll-tax on the subdued peoples; a tax rate on the mints; a tax on the custom-dues; a tax on the salt mines and fisheries; a tax on shops built in markets and public places of cities; a tax on water-mills and factories (as was levied upon the Persian rose-water factories); a tax on ornaments.

Some Arab historians, Ibn Khaldūn, 158-170A.H/775-786 A.D.; Kodāma, end of 337 A.H./948/949 A.D.; Ibn Khordadbeh, 255-259 A.H./868-872 A.D., give brief information about the administration of the treasury and the tax-rate of each state at the time of the Abbasids. According to the testimony of Ibn Khaldūn, between the years 775-786 the total amount of money that entered the Royal Treasury was 411 million drachmae. According to Kodāma in 819-820 the amount of money was 371½ million drachmae. According to Khordadbeh between the years 845-874 the income of the Royal Treasury was no more than 293 million drachmae. It is easy to infer from the history of the rule of the Caliphs the causes of the decrease of the royal taxes. Continuous quarrels and disorders, internal dissension and external wars, prodigality of the caliphs and insatiable avarice of the prefects corrupted in general all the countries. At the time when the prefects plundered the people for taxes, the treasury of the caliphs was empty. In view of this fact the second caliph of the Abbasids intro-

duced the custom of leasing the states to the prefects, who paid him the money according to the established rate.

According to the testimony of Ibn-Khaldūn the yearly tax-rate that was paid by Armenia was thirteen million drachmae. According to Kodāma nine million and a hundred thousand. But according to Khordadbeh four million. Some provinces of ancient Armenia were considered as parts of Azerbaijan and Mesopotamia.

As we have mentioned above, at the time of the Abbasids, the officials of the Arab empire, and especially the overseers of the treasury, were Persians and Greeks, who used their own language. Also, the currency in gold and silver was Persian and Byzantine. When Abd al-Malik sat on the throne, he made important changes. In the place of Greek and Persian officials he appointed Mohammedans. In administrative affairs he introduced the Arabic language and coined in Arabic characters (in the year of the Lord 717-718). He established in the empire a general money-scale to be used by everyone, according to which a drachma weighed seven-tenths of a mithqāl, and moreover the dinar weighed one mithqāl. There were numerous kinds of copper money valued according to weight and size. On the gold and silver money the caliphs stamped their names. The prefects had permission to stamp their names on copper money only. There is evidence of 160 places where money was minted, the names of which are seen stamped on the Arab coins. Often, instead of the names of the cities, where money was coined, the names of the provinces, in which the cities were located, have been stamped. For example, Azerbaijan is mentioned instead of Ardabil, Armenia instead of Dabil, Arran instead of Barkan. Sometimes the names of the cities and provinces are mentioned together, e.g., Harounapat and Armenia. From the above it appears that there were few mints where money was coined in the land of Armenia. Still in our time there are coins which have been stamped in Ourmia, Amid, Partav, Dvin, Mardin, Nisibin, Tiflis, and in other places. All these from the beginning of the eighth century were considered as parts of Armenia.

The Arabs were superior in military affairs to the Greeks and Persians because of their better discipline and organization, which, once established by Omar, never changed. For there is no mention in the Arab historians of the kinsmen and the followers of Omar altering that system. Their soldiers were valiant and obedient to their generals. There were sufficient wages assigned to them. Their religion encouraged them [to aspire to] eternal life and [realize their] hope for earthly spoil. According to the ordinances of the Qur'ān every soldier had a share of the booty of the enemy. For this reason, militarism for them, as we mentioned above, was not only an affair pleasing to God, but also profitable. During the time of the Omayyads

the Arabs speedily learned the arts of waging war from the Byzantines and Persians. Their generals, following the example of the Byzantines, used to build camps a day's journey from the enemy, fortifying them with fences and digging open trenches. In convenient regions of the conquered countries permanent camps were stationed, where soldiers lived with their families and received wages from the court. In later times, instead of paying wages, they gave them land, on the income of which they lived. They did not have the right to cultivate the country, for the Mohammedan law forbade agriculture. They had to be occupied with military affairs. From the beginning, the army of Azerbaijan was stationed at Maragha. Later it moved to Ardabil.

At the time of Omar the yearly pay of every Mohammedan was five hundred to six hundred drachmae. At the time of the Abbasids an infantryman received eighty drachmae and a cavalryman one hundred sixty francs monthly. The number of the soldiers at the time of the earlier caliphs of the Omayyad house was about sixty thousand, for whom sixty million francs were spent yearly, that is, one thousand francs for each soldier. But when [the amount of money] in the royal treasury decreased, due to bad administration, the wages of the soldiers diminished also, or they were not paid exactly at the set time.

The weapons of the Arab soldier as in the former times were a sword, a spear, a buckler, a bow, a quiver and a cuirass. They also, like the Greeks, had engines for siege and hurling stones. In order to facilitate the transport and the movement of the armies and their equipment they carefully repaired the roads. The equipment of the camps and the armies was moved from place to place on the backs of camels. A great sum of money was spent for these. At the time of Abd al-Malik, for the transportation of the equipment of one army of forty thousand soldiers to Sagestan, two million francs were spent. As the rule of the Arabs spread, the number of their armies increased more and more. At the time of Caliph Ma'mūn (816-17), the number of the soldiers of the army that guarded Iran was one hundred twenty-five thousand. Thus the arrangement of their armies changed in each nation, for the soldiers of Arab birth decreased gradually and the soldiers of the conquered peoples increased. Many of these accepted the Mohammedan faith and enlisted in their army in the expectation of receiving abundant booty. In a short time these became a separate division, to whom was given the position of the royal body-guard. This undertaking of the caliphs became very detrimental to their empire. The generals of the body-guard soon grew so strong at the royal court, and they acquired so much power, that they could place anyone on the throne of the caliphate or de-

pose him at their pleasure. Be it as it may, the inhabitants of Bagdad and all the Arabs in general looked on this with aversion, because the caliphs neglected the Arabs, and chose their body-guards from the other nations.

The relations of the Mohammedans towards other nations who are not Mohammedan in faith are prescribed in the Qur'ān, which commands the faithful to fight them continually, until they bring them into Mohammedanism, or by conquering them compel them to be in servitude. When other peoples confessed the faith of the Mohammedans, they received all the rights of a Mohammedan. But if they remained in their faith they lived under different laws and regulations as subjects, and paid taxes to their conquerors. After the days of Mohammed the rule of the Arabs spread over the Christian nations. Thus, their relations and the history of the conditions of the Christians under the sovereignty of the Mohammedans begins from the time of the expansion of the religion of Mohammed. Mohammed himself conquered the Christian peoples living in the South of Arabia, and made a treaty with them, which is observed to this day.

Omar drove out all the Christians from Arabia. He forbade the other nations to speak Arabic, and read books in that language. The purpose of the constitution was not to persecute and molest the confessors of other religions, but that Arabia might be for the Arabs only, and that the Mohammedans might not be mixed with the foreigners and led astray by their laws. Omar permitted the Christians, who were expelled from Arabia, to take with them their goods and chattels. He commanded also that those people of the conquered countries of his empire be given as much land as they had had in their native Arabia. Likewise when Omar took Jerusalem he made a treaty with the people of the city, that he would not interfere with the liberty of the Christians, seize their churches or their possessions, or the properties of their churches and monasteries. When he subjugated the Syrians, he made a different agreement with them; his constitution up to this day is regarded as the rule for the living together of Mohammedans and Christians. The following entire contract, according to von Kremer (pp. 102-104), we present in order to make known the conditions of life among the Christians at the time of the former caliphs.

"In the name of God, the Merciful and Gracious, This is the letter to Omar Ibn Khattāb, the prince of the believers, from the Christians of the city (N.):

When you came to this country, we besought you for the safety of our lives and our families, our possessions and our faithful brothers. We promised you then, that we will not build monasteries or churches, convents or hermitages in and around this city and that

we will not restore any in ruins that are in the sections of the city which belong to the Mohammedans. [We promise that] we will not hinder the Mohammedans from Lodging three nights in our churches to be fed at our expense. [We promise] not to harbor in our churches and dwellings spies or people who are enemies of the Mohammedans. [We promise] not to teach our sons to read the Qur'ān, not to worship or practise openly the beliefs of our religion and not to make any proselytes. Moreover [we promise] not to prevent anyone of our kinsmen from joining the Mohammedan religion. [We promise] to honor the Mohammedans by giving up our seats when they desire to sit down. [We promise] not to imitate them, be it in the style of hats, turbans, shoes, or the shaving of the hair. [We promise] not to use their language, nor assume names similar to theirs, nor ride on a saddle, nor to wear a sword, nor to buy a weapon and carry it, nor to put Arabic inscriptions on our rings, nor to sell wine. [We promise] to shave our hair above our foreheads, and wear our own clothing wherever we go. [We promise] that we will wear a girdle around our waists, but will not place any cross on our churches, nor carry the crosses or our holy Scriptures in markets and public places of the Mohammedans. [We promise] not to ring too loudly the bells of our churches, and not to read aloud our spiritual books in our prayer houses, if a Mohammedan is standing near by. [We promise] not to form solemn processions with palms and crosses. At the burial of our dead [we promise] not to sing aloud and not to light candles in the market and public places of the Mohammedans. [We promise] not to take as slaves those who previously have been slaves of Mohammedans, nor to spy upon any Mohammedan in his house." When Omar read this treaty, he added the following with his own hand—"[We promise] that we will never smite a Mohammedan. We and our co-religionists promise to keep all these [commands], for which we receive from you safety for our lives and possessions. If we fail in any one of these stipulations which you have laid upon us may your protection be withdrawn and may we be treated as rebellious and as conspirators."

Omar, during his entire rule saw to it that his ordinances were executed exactly. He did not allow the Christians to have any administrative positions in the government. When one of his prefects asked him permission to appoint Christians in the royal administration, Omar answered him as follows:—"Do not permit the unbelievers to meddle with our affairs. Do not give them that which God forbade, and do not yield to them your treasury. Keep these commandments, for in them are the principles of the conduct of our life."

To someone else Omar wrote the following letter—"He who has

a Christian scribe let him not live with him and love him; let him not have him sit near him, and let him not consult him, for the apostle of God (Mohammed) and the caliph who is his vicegerent did not permit that we have royal officials from subdued Christians". When Moawiya ibn Abu-Sufyan asked permission to appoint to an administrative office a Christian capable in the art of book keeping, Omar answered him thus—"Let God keep us from evil. I read your letter concerning the Christian. From this moment that Christian is dead. Peace be with you."

In a short time the constitution of Omar was forgotten. Even at the time of former caliphs from the house of the Omayyads, the Christians were not only respected and honored, as al-Akhtal who became the poet to the palace of 'Abd al-Malik, but many of them became court officials.

Omar II, the son of 'Abd al-'Aziz was a very fanatic Mohammedan. He renewed the constitution of Omar I. He sent the following decree to all his governors: "I understand that in the old times when the Mohammedans conquered a province they were greeted by the infidels. The Mohammedans demanded that they should assist them in the administration of the country, as if they were wise and skilful in administration and in tax collection. But it is not possible that they should be wise and ingenious, since the wrath of God and His prophet is upon them. This has happened to be thus so long as it was predestined by God. I do not know if any prefect has an official who is not a Mohammedan by law. If I discover such a prefect, I will depose him from his position. Your first duty is to reject the Christians from governmental offices and annul their religion. Then you have to put them to shame and insult them, for these are the things God instituted for them. Take heed that Christians do not ride on the saddle, but on a saddle cloth; neither let their wives sit on wooden or leather saddles, but on a blanket spread on the back of beasts of burden. When they ride they must stretch their feet low on one side of the animal. We strictly command this to all our officials. Be obedient to my orders."

Besides this, Omar II added another commandment to the effect that all Christians must shave their hair on their foreheads and put on a girdle. He forbade them to wear a cloak or a hat according to the custom of the Mohammedan sages, and also forbade them to carry weapons. He also commanded the destruction of all the Christian churches, which had been built in recent times, but forbade the seizure of those which existed before the Mohammedan religion had been introduced. Walīd, the prefect of Damascus, transformed the church of the Christians, called St. John, into a Mohammedan mosque. Instead of it Omar gave them another church, which for-

merly did not belong to the Christians. Due to these harsh measures many Christians accepted the Mohammedan faith. At the time of the Omayyads Christians generally enjoyed the favor of the caliphs, and except Omar II none of them persecuted or molested the Christians.

When the Abbasid house came to rule, the influence of the Christians increased. The Caliph Mansour permitted them to search and find out the scions of the Omayyad house and its followers. It seems that the Christians were greatly troubled under the Mohammedan rule, for accusation was laid against them to the caliph, a powerful prince (Shebin Ibn Shaib). Thereupon by the order of the caliph the Christians were deprived of every privilege. Similarly the Caliph al-Mahdi following the impeachment of the Mohammedans gave orders that the prefects and generally all the Mohammedans should not employ Christians as secretaries. He even threatened to cut off the hands of those who were found guilty in this matter. Harun-el-Rashid, longing to have fame as a faithful Mohammedan, by an edict deprived the Christians of administrative positions in the court. He ordered them to wear clothes different from those of the Mohammedans. He destroyed their churches. The Caliph Ma'mun at the beginning favoured the Christians, but after subduing the Copts and returning from Egypt, he decreed laws against them.

At the time of the successors of the two Ma'muns and at the beginning of the rule of al-Mutawakkil rights were granted again to the Christians in the court administration. The number of the Christian officials was so greatly increased, that all the officials of the caliph and his mother, and his kinsmen, and also all the officials of the treasury and of the military and the civil affairs were Christians. They set traps for the Mohammedan officials, making a list of all their chief officials and at the top of the list they introduced the names of some Christians. This they gave to al-Mutawakkil, stating that those listed had grown very rich at the expense of the treasury. But the Mohammedans anticipated them and spoiled their plans, and accused them in the presence of the caliph, who thereupon deprived all the Christians of their privileges. In the year of the Lord 849, he promulgated an edict, commanding that all Christians should put on their garments a piece of yellow cloth, and should not wear white in order that they might be distinguished from the Mohammedans. Al-Mutawakkil also commanded that the stirrups of the Christians should be wooden; that their churches should be destroyed; that the poll-tax should be doubled; that they should not go to the baths of the Mohammedans, but that they should have their own baths where the Christians should serve; that the Christians should not have Mohammedans as servants. A special official was appointed to carry out these regulations.

After four years elapsed, al-Mutawakkil again established laws which he previously had instituted; he also added some new ones, namely, that Christians should not have the right to ride on horse back, but only on donkeys and mules; that at the back of the saddle they should fasten two wooden pommels. A yearly tax was levied on their houses amounting to one tenth of their value. On the doors of their houses wooden effigies of devils were hanged. Their graves were levelled to the ground. The slaves of the Christians were commanded to wear over their trousers two pieces of vari-colored cloth having the width of four fingers. But at the time of the successors of al-Mutawakkil, his laws were forgotten; the Christians entered again the administrative affairs of the court and became outstanding in the government.

In 908 when al-Muqtadir bi-llah sat on the throne of the caliphate he deprived the Christians of every privilege, and ordered them not to be appointed in the administrative affairs of the court. He himself had a Christian, by the name of Nasr, killed because he was the secretary of a Mohammedan. The Caliph ar-Radi-billah renewed the laws of his predecessors against the Christians. He became the last independent caliph, since at this time all the civil rights of the caliphs were in the hands of the leader of court body-guards who was called Amir-al-Umarā.

In spite of all this, the laws of the Mohammedans prevented them from intervening in the religious affairs of the Christians, who in these matters enjoyed liberty and free rights of spiritual economy. Likewise, in the matter of marriage Christians were exempt from the Mohammedan laws, but not in the event of the Christian husband and wife coming to the Mohammedan judge. The Christians were permitted to say their prayers, to restore their churches and monasteries according to their former style, and also to build new churches, but not in the larger cities, where the Mohammedans were more numerous than Christians. The monasteries enjoyed some rights also. The cenobites could cultivate the land, filter wine, practise medicine and occupy themselves with some trade. They were honoured and well-to-do. Those monks who travelled from one monastery to another were exempted from all taxes. We do not know explicitly about the poll-tax on the monks and priests who lived in villages and cities, because the Arab historians differ in their accounts of this matter.

The patriarch or the catholicos of the Nestorians, who sat in Baghdad, was greatly honored at the court. A great many things were performed by him. It seems that he was regarded as the head of all the Christians.

Translated by Terenig Poladian

New York City

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SUFISM*

Dr. Arberry has himself defined the aim and scope of his three lectures on the History of Sufism most adequately on page 6. The first lecture will review, he says, "the work of (European) scholars prior to our times." The second will "summarize the results of the researches conducted by our contemporaries." And the third will sum up "the total progress so far made," enumerate "the special texts which have yet to be published or studied," and indicate "the lines of individual inquiry, which need to be pursued," with a final word "on the form, which the Complete History of Sufism will take," when it is eventually, if ever, written.

The idea of a definitive history of Sufism occupies Dr. Arberry's mind throughout and is evidently the motif of his three lectures. In the light of his notion of what constitutes a complete history, he discusses and evaluates the work and views of the best known western students of Islamic mysticism, proposes a program for the future study of that subject and lays down the conditions and accomplishments, which that study demands.

But Dr. Arberry's ideal history is, in fact, as his remarks on page 78 show, an encyclopedia, compiled by experts and supervised by an editor of uncommon merit, whose Herculean task it will be to give the compilation balance, whatever that means exactly, and to reconcile, if possible, the inconsistent results of the experts. This notion does not greatly bias, it is true, Dr. Arberry's judgment of what scholars have already achieved in the realm of Islamic mystical studies, but it affects very gravely his views concerning what should be the course of future research. For it has led him to propose (page 19) that comparative mysticism should be abandoned for the present and a truce "called to all such speculations for at least a generation," since "the only task appropriate to the thorough-going specialist is, in his judgment, "the description and analysis of Sufi doctrine and practice *on the basis of Islamic sources and Islamic sources only.*"

Dr. Arberry's fear of sweeping generalizations is, it must be confessed, only too just and well-founded. As a subject, mysticism lends itself only too easily to vague comparisons and remote relationships. And Dr. Arberry might have found a very appropriate text for his much needed sermon in Adalbert Merx's *Idee und Grundlinien einer allgemeinen Geschichte der Mystik,* which for some reason he does

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* The Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy Lectures for 1942. By Arthur J. Arberry, Litt. D., London, New York and Toronto, Longmans, Green & Co., 1943. pp. XVIII and 84. $3.00.

not discuss, although its influence upon such masters of Islamic mystical studies as Macdonald and Nicholson is quite obvious from Dr. Arberry's quotations from these scholars. For Merx it was who evoked the myth of the predominating influence of the Pseudo-Dionysius and of "his asserted master," Stephen bar Sudaili, with his "Book of Hierotheus," on the development of mystical thought in Christendom, both East and West, and in Islam, when, as a matter of historical fact, bar Sudaili's book had little, if any, part in shaping the ascetic-mystical doctrines of Eastern Christianity, or of Islam, and the Pseudo-Dionysius a very minor role indeed.

But Merx's genial, if fallacious, arguments have not only misled scholars to seek connections where they did not exist. They have also unfortunately sealed their eyes apparently to the real source of the ascetic-mystical principles of Syrian Christianity, and so possibly of Islam. For, as Irénée Hausherr has truly observed, Syriac mystical literature cannot be understood, except in its more ancient documents, without the light of the philosophical and theological speculations of Evagrius Ponticus, who put the great thoughts of Origen and Gregory of Nyssa into apophthegmatic form and so popularized them. An acquaintance with Evagrian thought and its influence on the practice and theory of Nestorian monasticism might very well change prevailing views on the relation of Zuhd and Tasawwuf in Islamic mysticism, for example. Ascetic practice and theoretic speculation may not have been such separate developments in Islam as some scholars make them out to be.

Asceticism, it is true, seems to have been the chief characteristic of early Islamic piety. But it may have had a philosophical as well as a purely religious implication. It may have been conceived, that is, as the means, not only to salvation in the general sense of a blessed immortality, but also to salvation conceived of as the soul's recovery of its true, proper and original nature, which is to see the truth of things immediately and to become again the temple of God united with him in Will and Knowledge. "Virtue," says Evagrius, "reveals to the mind natural knowledge of the second stage (which is mainly the knowledge of God derived from corporeal things); and this knowledge establishes the mind in its original state." "Contemplation," says Isaac of Nineveh, "which is the second soul, the spirit of revelations, cannot be formed in the womb of reason, which receives the fulness of spiritual seed, without the corporeal service of virtue, which is the dwelling-place of the knowledge which receives revelations." Junayd's "return to our origin," or access to the life of the Creator, where the qualities of the Beloved penetrate those of the worshipper, or Ḥallāj's identification of subject and object could well be thought

of as the final phase of Islam's appropriation to itself of Evagrian thought.

Even Merx, however, and the dire results of his premature generalizations would scarcely justify Dr. Arberry's dictum that scholars should for the present restrict themselves to Islamic sources only; and Dr. Arberry, in fact, does not uphold this pronouncement consistently, as a glance at pages 59 to 61 of his book will demonstrate. For here he advocates that we either imitate Massignon, or emulate Nicholson, or "acquire an expert back-ground knowledge of either Greek philosophy, or early Christian mysticism, or the mystery religions of Egypt and Persia, or Indian Theosophy, and seek to work out in each case the facts and possibilities of actual historical contact with Islam." What Dr. Arberry would really like to see, then, is a strict historical accounting of all suggested borrowings and relationships on the basis of literary evidence instead of the haphazard, slip-shod comparison of ideas because of some general resemblance into which comparative mysticism so often degenerates. With this desideratum every conscientious scholar will be in hearty accord; and he will also thank Dr. Arberry for the great service which he has rendered, not only in inculcating this necessary lesson, but also in pointing the way to its practical application.

Each particular mysticism is, of course, in some sense or other, the product of the religion and culture in whose bosom it is nurtured; and Massignon's thesis of the Islamic origin and development of Sufism can be justified, therefore, on some ground or other. But Islam and Massignon's Aranæan, or Jewish-Christian culture are such sisters under their skins that to talk of the dependence, or independence, of some particular religious or cultural movement gives in their case a false picture of the actual historical event or events. For in many cases they should rather be considered as joint heirs of one inheritance; so that when al-Muḥāsibī, for example, declares that the fear of God is the beginning of the way, and that reflection upon God's threats begets fear, whereupon the servant puts out the fires of lust, he is just giving voice again in Muslim accents to sentiments which the hermits of the Scete desert uttered centuries before him, and which Christian solitaries had been declaring ever since; and when he considers and analyzes the keeping of God's laws, and heedlessness and watchfulness, and the fear of blame, the love of praise or of self, pride, self-admiration, haughtiness, envy, affectation, illusion and hypocrisy, or the power of purity, repentance and intention, he is but living again the life, works and thoughts of countless monks, who examined their consciences and tested every idea and emotion that entered their hearts, since, and even long before, Evagrius first dealt systematically with the eight capital

sins. And when Anṭākī says, "Act as if there were only thyself on earth and Him in Heaven," he is just re-echoing Syrian mystics like Isaac of Nineveh, who admonished his fellows seeking solitude to think that "there is no other in the created world except thyself alone and God on whom thou thinkest." And when al-Junayd, in regard to the mystical union, asserts that the servant returns, finally, to the point of departure and becomes as he was before he was, he is but putting to a new, but historically justifiable, use an old definition of humility from some collection of the sayings of the Fathers of Christian asceticism, namely, that "the truly humble even desires to be shut off, if possible, from his soul and to be within himself in absolute quiet and rest from his emotions and senses, as something that does not exist in the creation, that has not come into existence and that is not at all." For, in the end, true humility spells a mystic union with God.

With reference to Ṣūfī orders, Dr. Arberry mentions only John Brown's *The Dervishes* and *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes* of O. Depont and X. Coppolani, which he praises very highly. He might also have cited and discussed some of the recent studies on the origin and development of fraternities in Islam, such as H. Thorning's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des islamischen Vereinswesens*. But no doubt Dr. Arberry will consider this aspect of the history of Sufism more fully in happier times.

For myself I can only acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude to him for a very clear and most useful account of the present status of Islamic mystical studies and express the hope that he may be spared to fulfill his promise to pursue his researches further and deeper.

Sir Hassan Suhrawardy has contributed an introduction to Dr. Arberry's three lectures, giving a brief sketch of the life of his brother, Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy, the distinguished Indian author and statesman, in whose honor the lectureship was founded, and a short but interesting statement concerning darwish fraternities in India.

WILLIAM THOMSON

Harvard University

BOOK REVIEWS

Islam Today. Edited by A. J. Arberry and Rom Landau. London, Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1943. pp. 258.

This is an important collection of essays dealing with twelve countries where Arabic-Islamic culture predominates, as well as the Muslim communities of four other areas where Arabic is not the dominant language. Turkey is not included because officially it is no longer an Islamic state. The Muslim populations, large and small, of Europe, Africa and Asia, which do not form separate influential communities, are also omitted.

The volume is not a description of Islam as a religion but of conditions and movements in Moslem lands. Most of the authors are British and the others are French, Syrian, Egyptian and Indian.

The book has a definite political purpose, quite understandable at the present time of critical world history. Nearly all the authors seek to promote the cause of the Allies. There is much praise, quite well deserved, of British and French benefits bestowed upon Muslim countries, with condemnation of Italian and German designs and acts of oppression and tyranny. Very properly, criticism of Islam and advice for Muslim communities are presented by the Muslim authors, while most of the other writers express full appreciation of the values and accomplishments of Islam.

The volume is enriched by a chronological table of Muslim history, a select bibliography for the various chapters, biographical notes about the authors, an index, a map showing the percentages of Muslim populations and sixteen illustrations.

Although the book is difficult to procure at present, it is strongly recommended as a valuable source of historical and factual information about important Muslim lands, as well as expert presentations of opinions and attitudes intended to influence those countries favorably and retain their friendship.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

Les Musulmans Yougoslaves (Étude Sociologique). By Abduselam Balagija, Docteur en Droit. Alger, L'Institut d'Études Orientales, 1940. pp. 152.

This is a complete and detailed account of the political and religious situation and the influence of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The spread of Islam through conquest and settlement by the Turks and other means is described. The modification of Islam in the region by modern cultural reforms and nationalistic tendencies is presented, together with a bibliography.

E. E. CALVERLEY

Sharaf al-Zāman Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India. Arabic text (*circa* A.D. 1120) with an English translation and commentary. James G. Forlong Fund. Vol. XXII. By V. Minorsky. London, The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942. pp. 170+53 in Arabic.

This book presents the scholarly work done on special chapters of an Arabic manuscript whose discovery in the India Office Library

was announced by Dr. A. J. Arberry in 1937. The present edition greatly increases the available Islamic literature about Chinese and Muslim relationships, Turkish and Siberian tribes and Indian religions.

The editor, himself admirably equipped for the Islamic part of his task, secured the assistance of specialists in Chinese and Indian languages and cultures. Professor Minorsky and his consultants have made the Commentary, covering 100 pages, a most welcome supplement to the text and translation. Among the many important discussions, the most interesting for our readers probably is the section on the Early Muslim accounts of Indian religious life. Here is presented an invaluable study of notices of the creeds and religious leaders found in the *Fihrist,* al-Bīrūnī, al-Shahristānī and other Muslim authors. Without claiming to be definitive, the results reached nevertheless illumine much that has hitherto been obscure in the Islamic descriptions of Indian religious sects and systems. Students of the history of religions and of comparative religion are under deep obligation to the author for the effort and care he has given to the preparation of this work.

E. E. Calverley

Report of the United States Agricultural Mission to Saudi Arabia, 1943. By K. S. Twichell, A. L. Wathen and J. G. Hamilton. English text, pp. 147. Arabic, pp. 192. Published at Washington, printed in Cairo, Egypt.

This bilingual account of an important friendly mission at the instigation of H. M. Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud covers a period from May 15 to December 5, 1942. The distance travelled along the Arabian coasts and across the peninsula was 10,793 miles. The route, shown by clear sketch maps, included the coast of the southern Hejaz and Asir together with inland settlements and the oases of Nejran, Bisha, al Taif, Medain Salih, Khaibar and the villages north of Medina. (That sacred city and Mecca were, of course, passed by). Then the route crossed to Hail, Riadh, Massa and Bahrein. The aim of the expedition was to study the possibilities of agricultural development, irrigation and better methods of combating locusts and other insect pests.

"The Mission was received with greatest courtesy and hospitality by all the Amirs and other government officials and Saudi subjects of all classes." These individuals are mentioned by name in the Arabic text which in other respects also is fuller than the English. Part I consists of a brief account of the basic principles of agriculture and stock-raising in a land like Arabia; followed by a dissertation on the basic principles of irrigation and the economic use of water-supply.

The second part deals with various areas and regions in detail, constituting the first survey ever made of the vast kingdom of Ibn Saud and its development. There are many oases in Hassa, Jabrin and Nejd where the present water-supply could be increased by wiser methods of irrigation. The Nejran valley lies at an elevation of 4,000 ft. and not more than 20 per cent of the arable area is now in use; yet the soil and climate are suitable for all field crops, grapes, citrous fruits and sugar-cane! Many of the present products could be greatly improved by modern methods.

The survey raises the question of financing the proposed schemes for irrigation, etc., and suggests how, by lowering the present extortionate rate of interest demanded, the government could aid private enterprise, or by direct subsidy and taxes execute the various projects so full of promise. Dates will continue to be the chief crop of the oases of Arabia, for "they produce more food value per unit than any other crop, and require the minimum of soil-fertility and replenishment."

Not only the enormous deposits of oil and the recent re-opening of Solomon's gold mines in Midian, but this account of new agricultural possibilities addressed to the progressive ruler of the land, presage a great future. The next generation of nomads may see Isaiah's word fulfilled "when the desert shall blossom as the rose." Here is a book to put on the shelf next to Harold Ingrams' *Arabia and the Isles,* which deals with Hadramaut.

The Arabic text is an excellent translation and the whole work is printed in clear and beautful type. It is not on sale but listed as S471 A8U6 in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

S. M. Zwemer

Wind in the Sahara. By A. V. C. Bodley. New York, Coward McCann Company. pp. 224. $3.00.

This is a high price for a small book but it opens windows to the desert blast and the Arab mind for those who have no patience to read Doughty, Lawrence or Philby. It was Lawrence, in fact, who urged Bodley to seek peace of mind after the Versailles Conference by going to the Sahara and turning Arab.

It is easy and pleasant reading and a relief from the nervous pressure of Western life. The writer is a sincere and accurate observer, who became fascinated by desert wisdom and the solution of life's problems by belief in Fate (pp. 77, 78). The consolation of Islam for a disillusioned Christian may not be a satisfactory philosophy, but the writer weaves into it many of his own and Arab experiences. He is a good story-teller, but has no very high opinion of missionaries. His knowledge of the Arab is greater than that of their religion. But his enthusiasm for the Sahara, where he spent three years, is contagious.

"As long as I lived in the desert I never had a worry. I never had a cold. During the whole time I lived in the Sahara desert, I never missed anything I had left at home. . . ." Now, back in the West, he writes, "I have constantly missed its deep silences, its singing winds, its admirable people, its security from all the troubles of our Western culture."

S. M. Zwemer

The Rise of the Fatimids. By W. Ivanow. Calcutta, Oxford University Press, 1942. Islamic Research Association Series, No. 10.

Those already familiar with the series of studies published by the Islamic Research Association will expect this new book to be both scholarly and full of interest. The author tells us in his preface that "only the changing spirit of modern times has made it possible to obtain access" to the information presented here. This work

brings together the story of the "grand Shi'ite movement" which led to the establishment of the Fatimids of North Africa, more than a thousand years ago. In a bibliographical notice, Ivanow lists his own publications on Isma'ili subjects, indicating his own judgment with regard to their present reliability, in their particular fields. It is to be expected that in pioneering research students have need to modify their own early findings exactly as must be done in the field of natural science. An author who thus declares his changed opinion regarding his own writings creates new confidence for his work.

The rise of the Fatimid Caliphate is not a new study. What is new in this book is the effort to learn the story from Isma'ili sources, hoping thus to learn the "secret inner motive" which alone can put meaning into "many aspects of the Fatimid activities." The statements of many Isma'ili authors may be strongly colored by religious beliefs or superstitions, but "there is also no doubt that in the main they preserve a correct idea of the 'skeleton' of events" (p. xviii), and therein prove an important corrective for accounts given by enemies of the movement, sometimes subsidized by the Baghdad Caliphs, who often represent them as outside of Islam, while "in reality it (Isma'ilism) was the leading and the most developed school of Shi'ism" (p. xxi).

In a carefully written chapter on "Sources" the writer lists and evaluates the Isma'ili sources that may be used in this study. He then deals in successive chapters, through 156 pages, with these subjects: "Al Mahdi, his ancestors and family"; "Al Mahdi and the 'Qarmatian' invasion of Syria"; "The Fatimids in prophecies"; The Myth of Ibn al-Qaddah and the Isma'ilis." Each study is based on the sources that have been described in the opening chapter. Following this part of the book there are either full, or extensive translations of six selected works not otherwise widely available. Then, following an Index of 22 pages, there are 113 pages of Arabic text, including four of the selections for which translations are given.

The author's attitude toward his subject is always friendly and his spirit enthusiastic; his opinions are briefly and decisively stated.

JOHN N. HOLLISTER

India

Gateway to Asia—Sinkiang; Frontier of the Chinese Far West. By Martin R. Noring, Introduction by Owen Lattimore. John Day Company, New York, 1944. pp. 200. Maps and photographs. $2.75.

The land-bridge of Asia has again been brought to our attention by the timely visits of Wendell Willkie and Henry Wallace to Tihua. Now, in this book, we have a factual study of the heartland of Asia, which acquaints us with the mysteries of Sinkiang—the Chinese "New Dominion." Since the days of Marco Polo, this land, encompassing the Takla Makan and the Gobi deserts, has captured the imagination of students interested in the inter-cultural relationship between the Occident and the Orient, the archaeological treasures of which have been brought to us by such outstanding explorers as Sir Aurel Stein and Le Coq.

This study is a more down-to-earth, modern, political interpretation, mainly viewed through the Chinese eyes of Tu Chung-yuan,

former Chancellor of Education of the province and Chiang Chun-chang, and interpreted by Mr. Noring, who has not visited Sinkiang. Much of the material has not been available except through Chinese sources, some of which the author tapped while in China. In this volume, therefore, one should guard against too roseate a picture of the new political set-up compared with that which was laid down in the Manchu Dynasty by Tso Tsung-t'ang. But the author adds another stone to the building of our knowledge of this area, for he depicts the new policy of the Chinese Government in Central Asia and the splendid program laid down by General Sheng Shih-tsai, Commissioner of Military Affairs, the enlightened ruler of the province. His six great policies are: anti-imperialism, kinship to Sovietism, racial equality, clean government, peace and reconstruction. Much of the policy dealing with racial groups is influenced by that laid down by Stalin in dealing with minority groups in Siberia. It is an enlightened view dealing with varied racial stocks and well for us to know.

The Mohammedan Chantos (Turban Heads), called by the Chinese Wei-wu-erhs (Uighurs), the forerunners of the Turki, comprise together with the Tungans (Chinese Moslems) the greater part of the population. Their part in Sinkiang life will especially interest our readers. This book will help us to understand Islam's part in Central Asian affairs.

The Glossaries with selected lists of terms, place names and persons mentioned in the book contribute to its value. There is also an excellent working bibliography of the available material on that province. Unfortunately some of the best modern books on the people of Sinkiang are not mentioned, particularly "The Gobi Desert" by Misses Cable and French. Also only one book by Sir Aurel Stein is included, yet he wrote many more that are classics.

Owen Lattimore's introduction is a clear summary of his book, "Inner Asian Frontiers of China" as it affects Sinkiang.

Mr. Noring's study is of paramount importance for anyone who wishes to understand the great future of Central Asia as it again becomes the crossroads of the world—the air world.

CLAUDE L. PICKENS, JR.

Turkey: Key to the East. By Chester M. Tobin. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1944, pp. 170. $2.00.

The author of this monograph was chosen in 1924 to coach the first Turkish team that competed in the Olympic games. College and an army training experience had left him violently anti-Turk. But what with residence in Turkey, intimate acquaintance with Turkish people, and study of Turkish history, his "spoon-fed theories collapsed." He learned of the secret diplomacy of the European powers in pursuit of "unrevealed, selfish interests," of the "perversion of Islam and Christianity" to promote political ambitions, of the problems faced by Ataturk and the steps taken by him and his companions to solve these problems. Now he would share his findings with his fellow-Americans. Documentation is not attempted, but many little known data appear in these pages, of which the student of modern Turkey should be aware. Confessedly popular, the book is

to be estimated in terms of its limited purpose and perspective, as an interpretation of Near Eastern history from a Turkish point of view.

JOHN E. MERRILL

Come Over into Macedonia. By Harold B. Allen. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J., 1943. Cloth $3.00.

The Smyrna disaster in 1922 forced more than one million three hundred thousand persons out of Asia Minor into Greece. Three-fourths of these settled in Macedonia. The Refugee Settlement Commission of the League of Nations assisted greatly in establishing them in their new home.

In 1928 the Near East Foundation chose Dr. Allen, who had served for two years as Educational Director of the Near East Relief, to undertake a thorough-going program of rural reconstruction for these people. The book tells the story of the ten-year adventure and the unusual success attained.

It should be of untold value for all who will be involved in the enormous problem of reconstruction which must be faced in many war-torn areas following the war. The stress was laid upon the "Four Essentials of Education" so well outlined by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director of the Phelps Stokes Fund. Nowhere have these principles been explored and demonstrated so fully as in Macedonia under Dr. Allen's leadership. Health and sanitation, appreciation and use of environment (the use and improvement of the land and its resources), the home and family life, and recreation in its broader aspects, were the basis of the work for and with these distressed people. Remarkable results were obtained in self help and in securing the interest and cooperation of the Government. Sadly enough, much of this was destroyed when the Italian and German forces swept over Greece in this present war, but it is believed that the foundation laid in the hearts and lives of the people will be there to build upon when peace comes again to this suffering land.

Dr. Allen's account of the ten years of service in Macedonia will be of untold value to all missionaries and other Christian workers engaged in rural reconstruction and in the new comprehensive approach to the village which is the keynote of so much of the advanced thinking of missionary leaders today.

THOMAS S. DONOHUGH

New York City

Great Britain and Islam

The formation of the Society of Friends of the Islamic World, which has as its object the promotion of further understanding and co-operation between the Islamic World and the British Commonwealth of Nations, will be warmly welcomed as providing a new link between Islam and Britain.

An inaugural luncheon of the Society was held at the Savoy Hotel. Lord Winterton, M.P., presided, and those present included the Turkish Ambassador, Lady Willingdon, Sir Ronald Storrs, Sir Frank Brown, and a number of diplomatic representatives.

Sheikh Abdul Hamid, honorary organiser of the Society, read a message from Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in which he expressed his full sympathy with the broad objects of the Society and wished it all success in its endeavours.

Lord Winterton, who paid a tribute to the work done by Sheikh Abdul Hamid in founding the Society, commenting on the objects of the Society, emphasised that it had no political object in a controversial sense. He said that one matter of high policy inevitably protruded itself at a gathering of that kind, and that was that neither the Soviet Union, the British Commonwealth, nor Free France could ever ignore the position of millions of Islamic people. Those three great Powers had among their loyal citizens millions of Muslims. As a community their claims must rank equal with those of the other religious bodies within their territories.

It was probable, he added, that among the British members of the Society there would be many sincere adherents of the Christian religion, and there was, despite their difference in doctrine, considerable resemblance between Christianity and Islam.

Sir Ronald Storrs said that it was high time that such a society was founded. They all recognized the greatness of Islam and its increasing resurgence of power and influence throughout the world. There was no conflict of interest whatever between the British Empire and Islam in any part of the world. The Society, he concluded, was being founded at an auspicious moment, for the war, like a wounded snake, was drawing itself to its appointed end, and they knew what its end was going to be.

—*Great Britain and the East*

Neolithic Races in Arabia

Carleton S. Coon in a paper on Anthropology of Southern Arabia states: "It is possible that Arabia was a home of human beings of ancestral European type, and advanced beyond their fellows in the glacial north." Certainly by Neolithic time in the Yemen, and perhaps in the Hadhramaut, agriculture was being practiced. In the terraced fields of the Yemen and the corresponding highlands of Abyssinia may lie a key to this great milestone of human progress. Somewhere between 1300 and 900 B.C. there came into being a high,

literate civilization flourishing on the incense trade and embracing the four kingdoms of Ma'an, Saba, Kataban, and Hadhramaut, with capitals, Ma'an, Marib, Tamna, and Shabwa respectively. "This literate civilization, however, seems to have originated elsewhere. At the moment eastern Arabia, in the region now being explored by the Standard Oil Company of California, is the most likely prospect."

According to Dr. Coon, and as he has described more fully in his book "The Races of Europe" (New York, 1939; chapter 11, The Mediterranean World), the Yemeni highlanders represent a pure Mediterranean type. Eastward in the Hadhramaut the ethnic composition of the population becomes complex. An ancient Veddoid or Australoid element has here blended with the Mediterranean element. A submerged Negrito strain also is tentatively identified. Other influences in the region derived from a dairy-cattle culture that passed through on its way from India to East Africa. It affected the Yemeni agriculturists to some extent, and it remained localized in the Qara (Gara) Mountains behind the Dhofar coast.

—*Geographical Review,* July, 1944

The Bible in the Lebanon

Changes due to the war enter even into our circulation figures. For two years our second-best distribution has been in English, Arabic of course coming first. This unusual increase has been due largely to the demands of the army, coupled with those of individual Lebanese who are anxious to improve their English. Earlier, similar causes brought about an appreciable increase in our sale of German Scriptures. That tendency, however, was nipped by an early frost.

Facing our depot across the sun-dazzled square stand the neat stone buildings of the Lebanese Parliament. Here in October 1943, amid scenes of great popular enthusiasm, assembled the first Parliament to be elected and convoked since the independence of Syria and the Lebanon was proclaimed by France in 1941. Friends watching the rejoicings thought that the Bible ought to be given a place in the foundations of the new state, and they decided to present a copy to each Deputy and Minister. But before this could be carried out, a violent conflict of authority between the Parliament and the Mandatory Power aroused world sympathy for this little state. Following the reconciliation some weeks had to elapse before it was opportune for us to wait on the President with an Arabic Bible of the largest size and most elaborate gilding.

The Cabinet was in session when we arrived and were shown to an adjoining room. "You are the lucky ones today," the secretary told us. "His Excellency has had to cancel all his appointments for the day, but he insisted on meeting you, even though he will have to leave the Cabinet meeting to do so."

Soon His Excellency, Cheikh Khoury el-Bechara, President of the Republic, hurried in. He shook hands with the delegation and we all sat down. Pastor Abdulkerim Mufit, head of the Syrian Protestant churches, made the presentation. He declared that with this Book we were bringing the good wishes and prayers of many who felt that in the Bible were to be found the principles of good govern-

ment and individual righteousness, through which alone this new state could fulfill its true destiny.

The President, who is a Maronite Catholic, replied with more than kindness, saying that no other present could have pleased him so much as this. His satisfaction was increased by the knowledge that a Bible was going to each member of his government. This Book was worth more to them than were all their law books, more indeed than the constitution of the republic itself. He added, with a twinkle in his cheerful blue eyes, that as for himself, he would begin with the Book of Job, since a man in his position needed, above all, to study patience! Then he sat for a quarter of an hour more, asking questions about translations and about the work of the Bible Society.

—F. Lyman MacCallum in *The Bible Society Record*

Progress in the Sudan

The Civil Secretary of the Sudan Government, Sir Douglas Newbold, tells of recent legislation for the Northern Sudan. We give the following extracts from his broadcast address:

The road of self-government along which the Sudan is marching is a long and painful one. We in the Sudan have already gone some way along the road and overcome many difficulties, and in the 23 happy years which I have spent in this country I have seen many milestones pass.

The building of the Gordon College only four years after the Battle of Omdurman was one such milestone. The cessation of continual tribal wars was another. The introduction of Native Administration, which we now call Local Government and which has been modernised and expanded to include a net work of Local Authorities and Town Councils with important responsibilities to several million Sudanese, was another. I remember much criticism and distrust of this policy at the time from both British and Sudanese officials, but we were not deterred and the war has proved the value and stability of these institutions, and has led us to crown them with these new Province Councils.

In the economic world the Financial Secretaries of this Government have striven for and obtained financial independence and healthy reserves for expansion of social services and economic development. The day on which this Government first balanced its budget without any outside help was another milestone, because there can be no real self-government without financial independence.

In the realm of education the institution of the Kitchener School of Medicine and the other Higher Schools, leading now to a new Gordon College with its own Constitution and Council and its own Budget, was a most notable milestone. The creation of the Substitution Scale and the more recent decision to give British titles to Sudanese holding British posts were two more milestones, and apart from the large number of Sudanese who have replaced British in Division II, I hope that the total of Sudanese in Division I will exceed 50 this year, and increase steadily as a result of the professional output of the Higher Schools and sincere efforts to train Sudanese in the various Departments.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

The Future of Islamic Studies. Sir M. Azizul Huque. (In *Indian Arts and Letters,* London. New series, vol. xvii, no. 1, pp. 8-19).

Gives a wide view of Islam's contribution to culture during fourteen hundred years and asks for careful study of its civilization, especially in regard to language, in the years to come.

Nigeria: From the Bight of Benin to Africa's Desert Sands. Helen T. Gilles. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. May, 1944. pp. 537-568).

Finely illustrated account of a region where Islam is strong, though Christianity shows gains in the pagan eastern and western provinces.

The Political Thought of Sir Syed Ahmad Khān. H. K. Sherwani. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. July, 1944. pp. 236-253).

Always an ardent worker toward Indian unity, the Syed is best remembered by the Institute he founded at Aligarh.

II. ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Muslim Contributions to Astronomical and Mathematical Geography. Nafis Ahmad. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. April, 1944. pp. 167-186).

Outlines the work done by various geographers from the 7th century to the 13th and shows their influence on the thought and achievements of the European Renaissance.

The Sudan: Past, Present and Future. Sir Angus Gillan. (In *African Affairs,* London. July, 1944. pp. 123-128).

Gives a historical survey and describes training and progress toward Moslem self-government.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

Samā and Raqṣ of the Darwishes. Sirajul Haq. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. April, 1944. pp. 111-130).

Presents the opinions of Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn-Taimiyya, 13th century scholars and reformers, against the music and dances of the dervishes.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

L'Agriculture en Égypte et l'Après Guerre. Mohamed Aly El Ghatit. (In *L'Égypte Contemporaine,* Le Caire. Janvier-Février, 1944. pp. 55-92).

Outlines a broad plan for agricultural and social betterment.

The Fourteen Peoples of Chinese Turkistan. Aitchen K. Wu. (In the *Journal of the West China Border Research Society,* Chengtu. Vol. 15, series A, 1944. pp. 83-93).

Describes the racial characteristics, manners and customs of the inhabitants of Sinkiang, where so many Moslems practise Islam.

Glimpses at Islam. (In *The South African Outlook,* Lovedale, S.A. June 1, 1944. pp. 81-83).

Some favorable comments on the religious and social aspects of the cult.

Prospects for Population Growth in the Near East. Ernest Jurkat. (In *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* New York. October, 1944. pp. 300-317).

Detailed study with charts indicating the probability of a very high increase in population which will bring about intensive development of natural resources.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Conflict over Palestine. (In the *Information Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,* New York. October 7, 1944. pp. 1-8).

A carefully documented analysis of this controversial subject from 1916 to date.

The Explosive Middle East. F. L. Babcock. (In *Fortune,* New York. September, 1944. pp. 113-116; 263-269).

Urges the formation of a definite United States policy in a territory where our stakes are so high.

If Britain Quit India? Sir Alfred Watson. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1944. pp. 248-259).

Survey of the situation followed by a general discussion; a consideration of dominion status for India.

The Much Promised Land. F. L. Babcock. (In *Fortune,* New York. October, 1944. pp. 166-172; 203-217).

" . . . there appears to be no solution for Palestine that is at once wise, practicable, and unmistakably just"; however the United States must make a decision and stop temporizing.

Palestine and the Jewish Future. Israel Cohen. (In *The Quarterly Review,* London. July, 1944. pp. 269-284).

Thoroughly documented, pro-Jewish presentation of this vital question.

Three Post-War Plans for India. Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. (In *The Fortnightly,* London. September, 1944. pp. 172-178).

Sets forth the Bombay Plan, produced by Hindu industrialists and frowned on by Muslims, the Peoples' Plan sponsored by the Indian Federation of Labour, and the Government of India's Plan.

VYING FOR ARAB FAVOR. Jamil M. Baroody. (In *Asia and the Americas,* New York. October, 1944. pp. 464-468).

Describes British, Russian and United States aims and aspirations in the Near East.

VII. TURKEY

THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN TURKEY. Dr. H. Avni Aksel. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1944. pp. 320-323).

Traces the science from the 14th century to today, finding the greatest advance during the last fifty years.

SECULARISM IN TURKEY AND ITS MEANING. John Kingsley Birge. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. October, 1944. pp. 426-432).

A fundamentally religious spirit is at work and "Peopleism" is receiving an emphasis which is highly promising for the future.

TURKEY AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM. E. V. Gatenby. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1944. p. 331).

Praises the progress made and stresses the need for teachers of English.

TURKEY AND HER FUTURE. Kenneth Williams. (In *The Fortnightly,* London. September, 1944. pp. 159-165).

Believes that Turkey is still favored by Great Britain and will no doubt exercise a steadying influence in south-eastern Europe and in the Middle East.

TURKEY AND THE SOVIET UNION. A. J. Fischer. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. September, 1944. pp. 152-157).

Pre-war confidence and cooperation will be restored when distrust concerning Russia's intentions toward the Dardanelles is allayed.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARABIAN MISSION, 1943. The Rev. Fred. J. Barny, ed. (In *Neglected Arabia,* New York. January-June, 1944. pp. 3-19).

Announces gratifying progress in all phases of work.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES. S. A. Morrison. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. April, 1944. pp. 183-192).

A thorough presentation of a condition much in evidence in Moslem lands.

THE REPORT OF THE METHODIST CHURCH IN THE HYDERABAD DISTRICT FOR THE YEAR 1943. J. J. Wesley. (In *Our Hyderabad Bulletin,* Hyderabad. February-April, 1943. pp. 3-13).

Rejoices over an extremely fruitful year.